

THE AMERICAN CITIZEN

THE AMERICAN CITIZEN

*A TEXTBOOK IN
GOVERNMENT AND CURRENT PROBLEMS*

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PREFACE

IN THE preparation of this volume an effort has been made to concentrate attention upon the citizen in his relationships to his government. Upon an examination of the table of contents the reader will observe that it is the intention of the authors to have the citizen occupy the center of the stage—a position which should be the citizen's in a democratic society. With a view to achieving such an end the conventional side of government structure has been minimized while the functional side of government has been emphasized. The authors have been desirous of having young people see how government actually operates rather than memorize how it is organized. An attempt has been made throughout to select material which will be valuable to the student in helping him make adjustments to his government and to all organized society. While the authors are certain that some knowledge of structure is necessary to an understanding of function, nevertheless they are convinced that the development of a knowledge of structure should follow from the study of how government functions.

An examination of the book will reveal that the non-official phases of government have been brought into light, especially in Part VI, with a view to having the student realize that governments operate not so much from the seats of government as they do from the wishes and plans of organized groups of citizens. Furthermore, as a means of guidance and direction to the students, considerable emphasis (Part VII) is given to the ways in which the citizen can and should participate in the actual operation of government. Then, too, much attention has been given to a consideration of the necessary changes in our government organization and procedure (Part V) in order to bring the machinery of government into harmony with the urbanization of population. These, we believe, are essential approaches to the study of government which ordinarily are not found in text books.

The authors have made every effort to bring the organization and

the scope of the material of this volume into harmony with the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies. In this connection we have attempted to emphasize the functional side of government with a view to giving the citizen something of a mastery over the forces which control the political machinery and determine political policies. This, we think, is in harmony with the American democratic tradition.

This book is offered for use primarily in the senior high school for courses in civics, in problems of democracy, as well as in survey courses in contemporary life. The book will also be found suitable for use in social science orientation courses in colleges as well as in adult classes in citizenship. Inasmuch as the attention throughout the book is centered on the activities of the citizen, it will be found helpful as supplementary reading in a wide variety of courses.

Much of the material presented in this volume has been used in classes with more than an ordinary degree of success. Special attention is invited to the teaching materials presented at the conclusion of each chapter, especially to the Questions for Discussion and the Community Problems, together with the well selected references. Attention is invited also to the inclusion of a well chosen glossary.

The authors are indebted to Mr. Ralph F. Donaldson for his originality in producing the line drawings for illustrations, to Mr. Binger A. Hansen for his help in the preparation of the charts, and to Miss Dorrit Kern for her assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

THE AUTHORS



PART I

THE CITIZEN GOVERNS HIMSELF

THROUGHOUT all ages there has been a strong tendency for men to demand the right to govern themselves. Here in the United States there are many persons who believe that that demand has been strong and certain. When the right to govern is placed in the hands of the people a *democracy* is said to exist. We think we have a democracy in the United States.

In the first chapter of Part I we shall explain something of the forces and factors which make up democracy—conditions that must exist if government truly rests in the hands of the people. In the second chapter we shall trace the steps by which democracy developed, and in the third chapter an effort will be made to show how different groups have aspired to exercise some control over the determination of governmental policies.



Chapter 1 THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

1. To illustrate the activities of an American citizen.
2. To explain the nature of citizenship
3. To define the meaning of democracy
4. To present the essentials of a democratic society.

TOM POLLARD had just completed his junior year in high school. His father was an active citizen who owned a business in a small industrial city, while his mother was an intelligent and charming woman who had many friends. The three were seated at breakfast when Tom, accustomed to the companionship of his father, blurted out, "How about a round of golf sometime today, Dad?"

"Sorry, Son, but this will be the busiest day I have had for years." The mother inquired concerning the plans for the day. Tom's father mentioned that he was due at the mayor's office at nine where a conference was to be held to discuss the beginning of a campaign for lowering the gas rates. "At ten," he continued, "I must attend the session of the naturalization court where I shall be one of the witnesses for Tony Sombroski who expects to receive his naturalization papers today."

"Isn't this the day," his wife continued, "that you have the lunch-

een engagement at which plans are to be made to promote the building project for the hospital?"

"This is the day," the father replied

"Doesn't the Building and Loan Association meet today, also, Dad?" Tom asked

"Yes, it does," his father replied, "and I wish it would be possible to send you or your mother to some of these meetings, for I shall get nothing done at the office today "

Tom's mother assured them that she, also, would have a busy day, for at ten she would meet with the executive board of the Parent-Teacher Association, and during the afternoon she expected to circulate a petition requesting the President and the State Department to negotiate treaties of disarmament

Breakfast concluded, Mr Pollard assured the other members of the family that he hoped to be home in time to accompany them to the congregational dinner at their church at six "I'll be home," he said, "even though it will be necessary to leave the late afternoon meeting of the Chamber of Commerce where we are to consider a program for securing some new industries for the city " And he added, "I think, Tom, you may drive your mother and me over to our precinct polling place before I go to the office, for this is one of the two days on which we can register for the fall primary "

As they were about to leave the house, the door bell rang, and a neighbor inquired if the Pollards would sign a petition to be sent to the United States Senators of their state requesting that the Senators vote for adherence to the World Court Mr and Mrs Pollard signed, and Tom insisted that he was a citizen and had a right to sign too, adding, "I know something about the World Court and we ought to be right in there with the other nations "

As Tom started home from town after Mr and Mrs Pollard had registered at the polling place he said, "Dad, will it be all right if I take a run out to the Forest Preserve on Long Lake to see how the boys are getting along with the Scout cabin that we are building with the assistance of the American Legion? I'm on the squad that is to lay the roof when the rest of the cabin is finished, and I'd like to see when they will be ready for us "

"Sure, Son," his father replied, "but don't forget the dinner at the church We'll get in our golf later in the week "

The Pollards do not hold any political office, but from the activi-

ties of this one day, they seem to be interested in better schools, in lower gas rates, in improving the hospital, in the naturalization of their foreign-born friends, in disarmament, in home ownership, in the World Court, and in securing more and better industries for their town. Most of these things can be gained only by political action, and in order to secure them, the citizens must organize in some effective manner so that they can govern themselves.

From this brief sketch of a day in Tom Pollard's life, we can see that the American citizen has many varied interests. They may be listed under three heads—economic, social, and political.

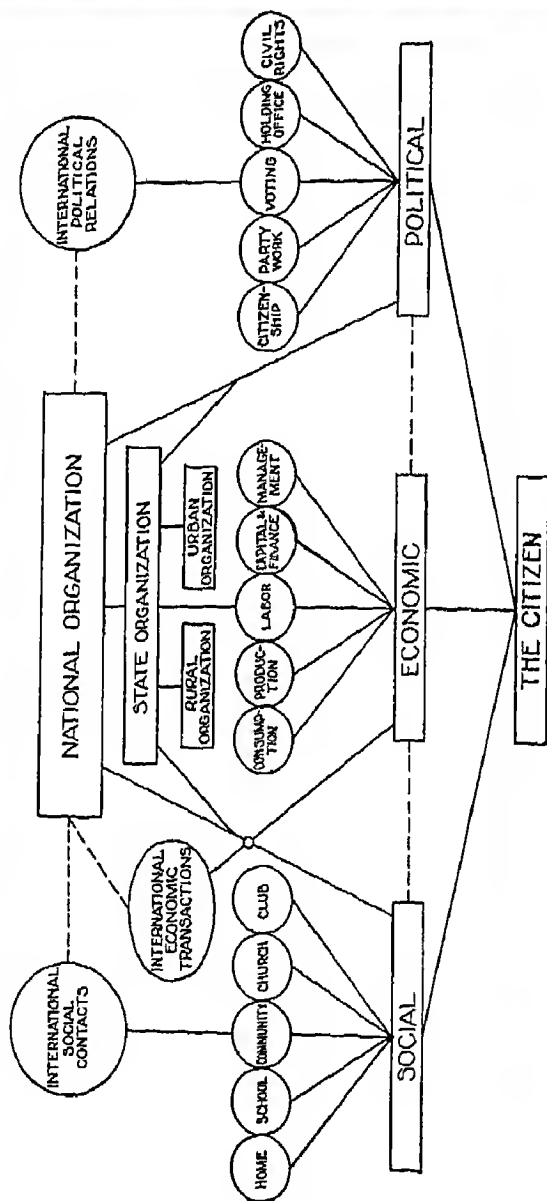
Economic Activities. The American citizen is first of all interested in making a living for himself and his family. As such he must produce goods or perform services which others consider sufficiently valuable to pay for. He may be active in any one of a number of businesses, professions, or trades. He may have invested some of his savings in his own or another's business. He uses such organizations as banks, brokerage houses, and insurance companies as agencies through which to carry on financial transactions.

The citizen desires money so that he may use it as a consumer of goods and services which he needs, so that he and his family may have all of the necessities and some of the pleasures of life. As a consumer he is interested in having a reliable and constant supply of goods and services, reasonably priced, and of good quality. By this he means that he wishes to maintain a wholesome and adequate standard of living.

The American citizen's economic life is not confined to the United States. He buys and sells many things in the international market. The prices of his goods are largely determined by conditions of world trade. Many of his foodstuffs, much of his clothing, and some of the house furnishings and other articles he consumes are produced in other lands.

Social Activities. Man is a social being. He lives, works, plays, and worships with others. He has developed many institutions for the purpose of carrying out these activities. Among them are the home, school, church, club, and other community organizations. Through these agencies he secures training and opportunity for self-expression. They also serve as means by which he seeks to improve his life by emphasizing wholesome social contacts and discouraging vicious and evil activities. Thus man through his social

ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN CITIZEN



life endeavors to build an ever better world for himself and his family in his community, in his nation, and in the world.

Political Activities. While the American citizen engages in economic and social affairs largely as *ends* in themselves, he uses political organizations as *means* to protect his economic and social interests and activities. Fundamentally, men seek political rights, found parties, and engage in other civic activities as *means* in maintaining harmonious relations between themselves while active in business and social affairs. In order to provide an orderly and stable means of co-operation, man has set up political machinery. The American citizen engages in political life through studying civic affairs, voting, taking part in party activities, serving his community or nation by holding political office, and enjoying his civil rights, such as freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage. Just as the American citizen's social and economic activities are world-wide in character, so are his political interests. He seeks peace and harmony in his business and social contacts with other peoples, and depends largely upon political means to maintain pleasant relations between nations.

Necessity for Government. It would be impossible to find a group of people anywhere on the earth that does not have some plan of government. A government is nothing more or less than an organized way by which the people regulate their activities. All governments are, to a greater or less extent, the creation of the people over whom they exercise control. It is erroneous to believe, as people used to believe, that governments are divinely created. Governments vary from despotic one-man rule to the pure democracy of the old New England town meeting. In the pure democracy the citizens meet once a year to transact the business—vote the tax levies, appoint officials, and determine policies of administration. There are some places in which the town meeting still operates, although it functions usually for specific and limited purposes, such as the voting of relief funds for the year. One can see that the town meeting might be an unwieldy and unmanageable body. Think of having a town meeting in New York, or Buffalo, or San Francisco! Where could a place be found sufficiently large in which the citizens could assemble? Even if such a place could be found, would it be possible to transact any business? As a result of these difficulties, people throughout the earth have found it necessary to have

their government operate by choosing representatives. The people of the United States govern themselves through representatives in city councils, in state legislatures, and in Congress. We should think of our government as representative in form and as democratic in spirit—as a democracy under republican form.

The Nature of Citizenship. In this volume we shall concern ourselves with the relation of the citizen to his government. It therefore becomes important for us to consider something of the nature of citizenship.

There are two kinds of citizens, *native-born* and *naturalized*. The native-born citizens include all persons born in the United States.¹ It matters not whether the parents are citizens. Children of unnaturalized foreign parents living in the United States are native-born citizens from birth.

Naturalization is the legal process fulfilled by foreigners who wish to become citizens of this country. It includes (1) the filing of first papers, declaring the intent to become a citizen, (2) a waiting period of not less than two years after the filing of first papers, and not less than five years after coming to the United States. The next step is (3) application for citizenship. The application is a formal paper including petitioning the court for citizenship, renouncing allegiance to a foreign country, references of good behavior, and considerable personal information. (4) Examination. A naturalization examiner and the judge ask questions of the applicant, and expect a "reasonable" proficiency in the English language, United States history, and principles of American government. (5) Granting of final citizenship. If all the records are in good order, and the applicant's examination satisfies the judge, citizenship is granted, and a certificate of citizenship is issued. Naturalized citizens may hold any public office except President and Vice President, and are equal in every other way to native-born citizens.²

There are many mistaken notions about citizenship. One man told the authors, "I am not a citizen of this city because I do not own any property here." There is no legal connection between citizenship

¹ There are exceptions in the cases of the children of foreign diplomats temporarily residing in the United States, and the children born of foreigners traveling in this country.

² The Constitution specifies that Senators must have been citizens for nine years and Representatives must have been citizens for seven years before taking office.

and property-holding. Anyway one is not a "citizen" of a city. He may be a *resident* of a city, but he is a *citizen* of the *United States*, not of any city or even any state. Some people think that only taxpayers are citizens. This is not true, of course. Others think that non-citizens are excused from taxpaying, but they are not. The most common mistake of all is to assume that there is some necessary relationship between citizenship and voting. There need not be any connection at all. Millions of citizens under twenty-one are not permitted to vote. Millions of adult women citizens, many of them taxpayers, were denied the right to vote prior to 1920. On the other hand some states permit unaturalized foreigners to vote if they have filed first papers. However, most states grant the right to vote only to citizens twenty-one years of age. We shall turn now to a consideration of the nature of democracy and of the instruments of government which the citizen is likely to use in a democracy.

Republics and Democracies. The terms republic and democracy are often confused. In each of them the final control of policies resides in the citizens, although there are governments in which the control is limited merely to a portion of the citizens. The extent to which government is democratic depends to a large degree upon the proportion of people who are allowed to exercise the rights of citizenship. A republic is the form of government in which the right to govern which resides in the citizens is delegated to representatives. A nation such as the United States, with a representative government in which the vast majority of people are allowed to vote, is both a republic and a democracy. A republic is characterized by representative government, while a democracy, in a general way, is characterized by a wide extension of the suffrage, the latter characteristic being the safeguard of the people. Thus one can see that all republics may not be democratic. This was true in the United States for many years following the framing of the Constitution--until such a time as the states found it possible to grant suffrage to all men, and later to all women.

Essentials of Democracy. The word democracy comes from the Greek word *demos*, meaning people. It means *rule by the people*. Thus a state is democratic to the extent that all citizens share in the government. Democracy is based on the idea of providing "the greatest good to the greatest number." It is "government of the

people, by the people, and for the people" A representative democracy is based on granting equality of opportunity to persons to share in the government through the privilege of voting for men who will represent their interests The success of a democracy depends upon the equality of opportunity for all to participate in the government, and it depends as well upon the universal use of this opportunity We could not have a true democracy if the right to vote were granted, but the right were not generally used In a democracy we need to have freedom of speech and other guarantees of unhampered liberty in exercising the rights of suffrage, an educated and enlightened citizenry, and as much economic and social equality as possible. Furthermore, there must be the right to petition and to protest, and the machinery of a democratic government must be such that it is easy for the officers to be responsive to the desires of the people

Equality of Opportunity. It is stated in the Declaration of Independence that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" If this is the democratic way, it is essential that the will of the people be clearly and accurately known This means that all must have equal opportunities to vote and to hold office without fear of coercion or intimidation, to express their beliefs and ideals without restraint, and to share in the benefits and opportunities of society on an equal basis. Special privileges should be given to none, and all rights and privileges of the state should be open to all persons on an equal basis Equality of opportunity recognizes one difference in people—that of ability. Democracy does not mean the leveling down to one mass standard, but rather the freeing of abilities in all the people to the end that the widest opportunity for expression will be attained, and the largest amount of intelligent control can be achieved Capable people are better able to take advantage of opportunities than those less capable For the mutual benefit of all, the members of a democratic society must encourage all citizens to develop and make use of their talents For this reason facilities for general education have been established. In a democratic society special privilege should be eliminated, and thus there would be a prohibition of the use of "pull," so that mediocre and improperly trained people would not be allowed to hold positions of responsibility. Thus it can be seen that the merit system is one of the essentials in the democratic way of life.

Universal Participation. Not only is it essential that all citizens enjoy equal opportunities in a democracy, but it is desirable that all actually participate in these rights. Thus the ideal democratic state is one in which all groups have equal rights of expression and equal privileges within the social order, and in which each individual has the same equality of rights and privileges as all other individuals within the group.

Theoretically all have equal rights in the United States; actually, however, there are many bars to the expression of these rights. Some are self-imposed due to negligence, indifference, or a belief in the futility of participation. This is evidenced in the fact that only about 50 per cent of the electors of the entire country vote at election time. In some sections of the country intimidation keeps large numbers of people from the polls. In the South, where Negroes are discouraged from voting, the total number of votes cast is far less in proportion to the population than in other sections of the country. The following table compares the presidential vote in two recent elections in four southern states with that of four northern states of somewhat comparable population.

State	Total Population	Total Vote for President		Per Cent of Adults Voting in
		1928	1932	
Georgia	2,908,506	220,158	255,500	16
Wisconsin	2,939,006	1,016,831	1,114,815	63
South Carolina	1,738,765	68,605	104,411	12
Connecticut	1,606,903	553,068	504,183	60
Texas	5,824,715	730,605	863,424	26
California	5,677,251	1,796,283	2,266,845	56
Mississippi	2,009,821	151,780	146,031	11
Kansas	1,880,999	712,879	791,978	60

It can be seen from the above table that voting is not done in the southern states to as great a degree as in other parts of the country. In addition to the fact that Negroes are generally discouraged from voting in the South, it should also be remembered that there is seldom a real clash of opinion in the general elections of the southern states. While there is frequently a clash in the primary elections, nevertheless, the absence of a clash in the general election discour-

ages people from participating. The South is predominantly Democratic.¹ In four out of ten Congressional Districts in Georgia the Democratic nominees for the House of Representatives in 1932 were unopposed. The closest contest developed in the Ninth District where the Republicans polled six thousand votes to 24,600 for the Democrats. In the five other districts in which there was a contest the Republicans polled 5, 20, 21, 912, and 1,726 votes respectively. Elections in which the results are as one-sided as this do not bring out the electorate. Of course this condition prevails in other places than in the South. Illinois, with a population two million smaller than that of Pennsylvania, usually casts many more votes. In 1932, for example, the total vote for President in Illinois was 3,407,926 while the vote in Pennsylvania was 2,859,021. Apparently the voters in Pennsylvania do not vote to the same extent as they do in Illinois. There is indifference to voting in all parts of the country. The table above shows that only 63 per cent of the electors voted in 1932 in Wisconsin—a state that has a citizenry more than ordinarily alert to the issues of government.

One explanation offered by some who do not vote is that since there is seldom any vital clash of issues between the two rival parties there is little need of voting. Another reason sometimes given is that the quality of men running for office is often mediocre, hence there is little use in supporting any of them. The extremely long list of candidates running for office in many of our elections also discourages potential voters who feel that it is impossible to judge fairly of the quality of the contestants. If the short ballot were adopted, participation in elections might be more nearly universal. (See Chapters 5 and 6 for the short ballot.) The lack of universal participation in elections by the electorate makes it easy for corrupt groups to "railroad" their candidates into office. These several explanations made as to why people do not vote indicate genuine evils that should be remedied in our democracy. Of course it goes without saying that no government can be democratic unless there are secret ballots used, and unless the election is carried on with marked fairness to all persons and parties.

Freedom of Speech and Assembly. One of the most vital essentials of a democracy is freedom of speech and assembly. It is funda-

¹In the 1932 election 98 per cent of the ballots in South Carolina, 96 per cent in Mississippi, and 92 per cent in Georgia were Democratic.

mental in a democracy that the issues of government be clearly discussed and definitely understood by the citizens. No criticism should be stifled. Every opportunity should be made for the people to know the facts and arguments presented by all groups attempting to solve public questions. Only under these conditions can citizens participate intelligently in public affairs. Freedom of speech and of assembly are guaranteed in the first amendment to the Constitution, but there have been times when this freedom was denied. In some parts of the United States citizens and the law enforcing officers are reluctant to grant freedom of speech and assembly to groups of people—usually people who entertain views on economic and political questions which are different from those held by the rank and file of society. A democracy, in the true sense of the term, gives all groups and all classes the right to be heard in an open and orderly way.

The Right to Petition. Closely associated with the right to speak and to assemble is the right to petition government officials, in person and in writing, for a change in government policies. To petition the government for the extension of services, for the abatement of nuisances, and for the granting of rights and privileges is considered a fundamental principle of government in any democratic society. The petitioning can be directed toward Congress, the state legislature, the city council, the school board, or other public bodies.

Universal Education. Democracy's most secure stronghold is in the intelligence and enlightenment of the electorate. This was clearly understood by some of the founders of the nation, although many years passed between the establishment of the Constitution and the creation of free schools for all of the people. John Adams clearly explained the purpose of education in a democracy when he wrote.

The instruction of the people in every kind of knowledge that can be of use to them in the practice of their moral duties as men, citizens, and Christians, and of their political and civil duties as members of society and freemen, ought to be the care of the public, and of all who have any share in the conduct of its affairs, in a manner that has never yet been practiced in any age or nation. The education here intended is not merely that of the children of the rich and noble, but of every rank and class of people, down to the lowest and poorest. It is not too much to say that schools for the education of all should be placed at convenient distances and maintained at public expense. The revenues of the State would be applied infinitely better, more charitably, wisely, use-

fully, and therefore politically, in this way than even in maintaining the poor. This would be the best way of preventing the existence of the poor.

Laws for the liberal education of youth, especially of the lower classes of people, are so extremely wise and useful that, to a humane and generous mind, no expense for this purpose would be thought extravagant.

In adopting the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory, Congress declared that "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education should be forever encouraged" in the states to be formed from the territory.

Of course it is not enough in a democratic society that citizens be able to read and to write. In addition to this they must be taught to discriminate intelligently between issues which are presented to them. Education should relieve the citizen from being mob-minded. It should develop in him a critical and a challenging attitude toward things as they are, and as they are being done by the government. It should make him immune, as far as possible, to propaganda, and it should enable him to see that we are living in a changing society and that all governmental action should meet these changes.

Responsive Government. An essential feature of democracy is government that is responsive to the desires of its citizenry. It should be easy in a democracy for the voters to express their wishes clearly and authoritatively. When a government is obviously out of harmony with the will of the majority of the people a serious crisis may result. Frequent elections are therefore essential in order that the government and the people may be in agreement. It is the practice in America for elections to be held at intervals of from one to four years. A number of European countries have provision for elections when crucial issues arise, rather than at regular intervals.

In order to make government more responsive to the will of the people schemes known as the *initiative*, the *referendum*, and the *recall* have been created in many of the states, thereby bringing the government one step closer to the people. The initiative provides for the consideration of measures by the people that the legislature has failed to act upon. The referendum is a means whereby the voters have final authority to decide upon legislation enacted by their representatives. By means of the recall undesirable officers may be dismissed by calling them up for re-election before their terms of office

expire. The initiative, the referendum, and the recall have not been used as extensively nor as successfully as their proponents prophesied at the time that they were first offered for consideration. However, officials and legislators in a state where they are in force are likely to be more responsive to public demands than would otherwise be the case. Furthermore, these devices should stimulate more active interest on the part of the electorate. These tools of governmental action have not been used as much as they might have been. This is largely because the intelligent use of them requires that the voter shall be informed on the question involved. Frequently he does not have the facilities for securing the necessary information, and too often he is indifferent to the proposals which are made.

Our Part in a Democracy The essentials of a truly democratic society are not yet fully secured. Upon the attainment of them depends the success of the democracy. It is clearly the duty of all citizens to study the means by which democracy operates and to aid in achieving the democratic goals. The Pollard family, discussed at the beginning of the chapter, was apparently fulfilling this duty. How successful all of us are in this depends in part upon the type of education which we have, upon the social and economic independence which we enjoy, and especially upon our ability to detect the special interests which are involved in every public question. (On this last point see Part VI.)

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. What are the typical activities of an American citizen? Explain economic, social, and political activities.
2. What is government?
3. Why are governments necessary?
4. Explain why it is correct to describe the American government as being representative in form and democratic in spirit?
5. What steps are included in the process of naturalization?
6. Who are citizens of the United States?
7. Distinguish between a republic and a democracy. Why is the United States both?
8. What are the essential features of a democracy? Explain each of them.

- 9 To what extent do we have equality of opportunity in the United States?
10. What reasons may be given in explanation of the comparatively small number of people who vote?
11. What suggestions are made as remedies?
12. What did John Adams consider to be the purpose of education in a democracy?
- 13 To what extent should the citizens of a democracy be educated?
- 14 Explain the initiative, referendum, and the recall. How does each of these provide a means for making the government more democratic?
- 15 What is the value of frequent elections in democratic governments?
- 16 What part should you as a citizen play in a democracy?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Do you think the excellence of government depends, in part at least, upon the number of citizens who participate in elections? Give reasons.
- 2 Are there any limits at which we should stop in providing free education for citizens? Should the limit be high school, the junior college, the state university, the professional schools?
- 3 How would you set about to increase the amount of participation in our elections? Would you encourage people to vote? Would you make the ballot shorter and more simple? Would you give the people literature on both sides of a given question? Would you devise some plan whereby minority parties might have representation?
- 4 Question for debate, Resolved That the initiative, referendum, and recall are essential to democracy.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Secure the figures on the number of voters in the last local election in your town or county. What percentage of the qualified citizens voted?
- 2 Ask some people who failed to vote, why they did not do so. What solution would you suggest for solving this problem of indifference toward voting in your community?
- 3 Compare the population and the size of the vote in your state with similar data from another state of comparable size. What do you find by way of differences, and how do you account for them?
- 4 Are the initiative, the referendum, and the recall operative in your state? If so, when and on what questions have they been used? What do you consider to be their value?
- 5 Interview three or more citizens of your community, asking what

they consider to be the chief essentials of democracy. List the replies and discuss them in class.

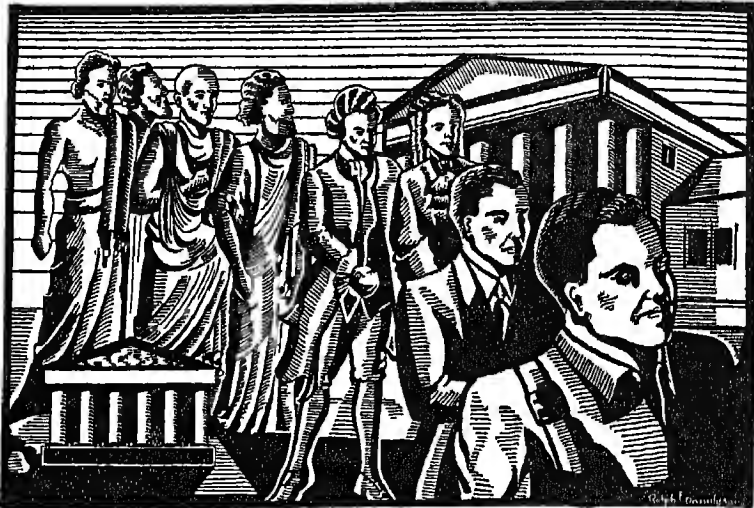
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Chapter 2 THE EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER.

- 1 To explain the features of monarchies and aristocracies,
- 2 To trace the development of democracy,
- 3 To distinguish between Fascism, Communism, and democracy

THE essentials of democracy discussed in the first chapter have been years in developing Democracy, as we know it, did not spring full grown from the minds of men but has developed through centuries of trial and experimentation as the citizens attempted to build a government more nearly fitted to their needs. Today democracy is considered the fairest and most just of governments for the masses of the people Democratic government is still in the process of development and many of its ideals are yet to be realized because of the changing nature of our political processes.

In this chapter we shall first describe monarchies and aristocracies, the forms of government out of which democracy evolved We shall then study the reasons for the rise of democracy and the steps by which it developed Lastly, we shall consider two rival forms of government which have sprung up since the World War, Fascism and Communism.

MONARCHIES AND ARISTOCRACIES

Monarchies and aristocracies are forms of government in which the rule is concentrated in the hands of a few. In a monarchy the power to govern is centralized in one man, while in an aristocracy the rule is in the hands of a special class or group that considers itself the best.

Rise of Kings. Kings developed among early peoples because of the necessity for a strong ruler who could be followed and understood. These less advanced people recognized only the rule of force. They needed a powerful leader in time of war and a strong central authority to preserve order in time of peace. The king, among early peoples, was a military chieftain. In early times he was often elected, but in most monarchies the succession later became hereditary, due to the discord and uncertainty that always followed the death of a king.

Absolute and Limited Monarchies. As mankind has become more enlightened the people have become progressively less satisfied with one-man rule and have demanded a greater share in the government. This led to the gradual abolition of the absolute monarchy, as rule by one man is called, and the establishment of the limited or constitutional monarchy. A constitutional monarchy retains the king, but he is limited in authority by written documents (charters, laws, and constitutions) which provide for a share of the governing power to be given to other officials and legislators elected by an ever-increasing number of citizens. In some instances the king has become a mere figurehead with the real power vested in the cabinet and Parliament. This is especially true at the present time in England, where the king may do no more than offer advice on governmental questions. The monarch of England has not exercised his veto power for a period of more than two centuries. Thus in some countries republics and democracies have replaced one-man rule although the title of king remains.

The king's authority has been curtailed because of certain inherent evils in monarchies that the masses of people have desired to abolish. Among these evils are favoritism, corrupt administration of the government, militarism, the king's desire for personal glory at the expense of the people, and governmental extravagance. The

most vicious examples of the evils of monarchical government in recent years are the governments of the Czar in Russia and the Sultan of Turkey, each of whom, together with the Austrian Emperor and the German Kaiser, lost his throne due to popular uprisings following the World War

Aristocracy. Aristocracies are based on the ability of groups of people to gain and maintain control of the government and the state. In all societies the actual government has, in reality, been managed by a comparatively small group of people. These groups may be made up of military cliques, as in present-day Japan, or in Germany before the World War, religious groups, such as those of ancient Egypt or early New England, the wealthy, illustrated by the landowning nobles of the Middle Ages, certain powerful families, such as the Medici family of Florence, seniors or elder statesmen, which may be best illustrated by the Senate of the Roman Republic, and the educated people, as in China prior to the establishment of the Republic.

Often an aristocracy has been made up of a combination of these different classes. Usually political power has enabled the ruling class to become wealthy, if it were not already so, and it has thus maintained authority long after the special ability that gave it ascendancy has passed away. An aristocracy that has gained authority through merit may degenerate into a corrupt and evil oligarchy whose only purpose is to exploit the rest of the people. It then lives as a parasite on society supported by the incomes which are earned from large landed estates worked by peasants whose condition is no better than that of slaves. This was the status enjoyed by the French and by the Russian nobility before they were overthrown by lower classes in the revolutions which changed the political control greatly in those countries. Aristocracies inevitably degenerate. They become decadent, irresponsible, and are forced out by more virile groups, usually from a socially lower class made more powerful by new conditions.

ANCIENT DEMOCRACIES

As groups of citizens became strong enough to challenge the king's power, he was forced to share it with them. In some cases, as in the city states of Greece, the king was compelled to relinquish

all his authority to the nobles. Thus, an aristocracy of wealth took the place of the king's rule. The power of the nobles rested on their ownership of land, and as new forms of wealth developed through commercial activities this power was challenged by a new class composed of business men. This new class was not powerful enough to overthrow the nobility, but its members were able to force the nobles to share the government with them by admitting them to equal rights and privileges. In this manner a new and larger group made up of both classes of citizens came into control of the government. The rule of this new class was known as the rule of the *demos*, or of the people. Thus democracy was begun.

Democracy in Athens. Athens was the city in which democracy first developed. The privileges of citizenship were extended until 55,000 citizens out of a total population of 350,000 shared in the rights of government. This included nearly all of the population who were not either women, children, slaves, or foreigners.

Because the middle class (business men) easily outnumbered the nobles, they were able, through the power of numbers, to bring about many reforms that improved the commercial life of the state. It was to bring about these reforms that they wanted a share in the government. This illustrates the underlying reason why a particular group of citizens deserves political power. The middle class Athenian realized that as long as the landowning aristocracy controlled the government its members would not assist the commercial group. There has always been jealousy and rivalry between the agricultural interests and the city business man. The middle class business men saw that they must have political power if they were to gain economic and social equality with the aristocracy.

Athens a Direct Democracy. A direct democracy is one in which the citizens rule directly without the use of representatives. An indirect democracy is one in which the government is in the hands of representatives chosen by the people. Athens illustrates a direct democracy. The United States is an indirect democracy. In Athens the citizens ruled directly by means of the Assembly.

Theoretically the Assembly of the Athenians consisted of all citizens, 55,000, but actually all could not attend its meetings which were held several times a month. Hence the number that attended was seldom over a few thousand. All powers were vested in the Assembly: making laws, treaties, declaring war, banishing citizens,

and levying taxes and special assessments. The Assembly had no constitution or system of courts to check it. A smaller body, the Council of Five Hundred, drawn by lot from the Assembly, reviewed the decrees before they were submitted to the central body, but it had no powers of restraint. The members of the law courts were chosen by lot from the Assembly.

The Assembly ran the state—but who ran the Assembly? Any one was allowed to speak before it. Those with the power to persuade the group were naturally the leaders. The country was run by oratory. Clear thinking and popular appeal were effective. Athens was a nation of people trained in practical politics. The affairs of the state were the business of all. For a hundred years Athens was governed in this manner. During this time it defeated Persia, governed the Delian League, and developed the finest art, philosophy, medicine, drama, politics, business, and industry that the ancient world had yet seen—and much the equal of any age since. Athens ruled an empire comprising two hundred and fifty cities in the Ægean, Black, and Mediterranean Seas—some nearly as large as herself. Athens was able to govern herself through the Assembly because she believed in men. The citizens had faith in themselves. They studied political conditions, they loved their city, and they all believed it their duty to work at government.

The Roman Republic. While the citizens of the middle class in Athens and other Greek cities were gaining a share in the government and thus developing democracy, the lower classes in Rome were becoming conscious of their power and demanding that certain abuses of the upper class (patricians) be abolished. The chief abuses were economic, two of which were the "legal" appropriation of public lands and the stealing of live stock by the patricians. The Roman patricians, just as the nobility of Greece, had overthrown the kings and gained control of the state. The laws were unwritten, and as the patricians controlled the law courts, cases concerning the abuses were constantly settled against the members of the lower class.

Slowly the lower class gained a share in the government. First, they forced the patricians to codify and write the laws so that all could see whether the courts were just; second, they gained the right to veto any law or decision made by the government or any of its officials; and third, they secured the privilege of voting for

officials, and of serving in any governmental position. By this means they were able to abolish the court abuses.

Rome was a republic governed chiefly by elected officers. The legislative body, the Senate, was an aristocratic organization composed of a few lower class citizens of prominence and many of the upper class. It was composed chiefly of men who had originally been elected consuls. The consuls were the presidents of the Senate and the chief executives of the state. Practically all Roman officials with the exception of the Senators were elected directly. Rome thus developed a government by elected officials, which was the beginning of the republican idea. Rome and Greece have served as inspirations for those who later conceived the modern ideals of representative democracy.

THE RISE OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

England is the birthplace of modern representative democracy. During the thirteenth century the English nobility gained a share in the government by wresting the Magna Charta from King John. In it the king recognized the right of the landowning nobility and the great towns to be represented in the government before special taxes could be levied on them. The principle of no taxation without representation from among the citizens was thereby recognized. It has proved to be a powerful weapon in the hands of groups of people who wish political recognition. Provision was made for the great landowners to be represented through a body known as Parliament. Parliament refused to pass on financial measures desired by the king unless he granted legislation favorable to the interests of the barons, the great towns, or the church—the three groups of citizens that had secured representation in Parliament. This was especially true during the seventeenth century when Parliament succeeded in exacting from the king two important guarantees of rights—the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights.

As long as the chief economic interests of England were centered in land, the government remained in the hands of the landowning aristocracy. With the development of commercial interests in early modern times we find the leading citizens of the towns demanding a greater share in the government. Economically and socially the English Civil War of the middle seventeenth century was a fight

between the landowners and the king on one hand, and the middle class business interests of the cities on the other. Complete victory for the middle class citizens was not secured, however, until the Industrial Revolution brought a powerful group of factory owners and capitalists into the contest on their side.

The Industrial Revolution. Changed economic conditions were at first due to the extension of trade stimulated by the world-wide explorations made in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Later there was an even greater development known as the Industrial Revolution. The first change enabled the merchants and bankers to gain positions of economic leadership and they at once demanded a share in the government. The Industrial Revolution added a new class of economic leaders, the industrialists (or capitalists) and strengthened the position of the merchants and bankers.

This revolution in industry was the substitution of machine for hand labor due chiefly to the invention of the steam engine and various mechanical devices that could be run by it. The Industrial Revolution, which was a continuous one and is still going on, ushered in what is known as the *machine age* in which we are now living. It began late in the eighteenth century.

Manufacturing by machinery could not take place in the homes as earlier hand manufacturing had. It demanded large buildings, expensive equipment, and many laborers to run the machines. Large sums of money were necessary for machinery and operating expenses. The men who provided the capital to operate the factories were known as capitalists.

The Industrial Revolution threw thousands of men out of hand work. Many of them now secured labor in the factories. England changed almost overnight from a land of economically independent hand laborers into one of factory laborers economically dependent upon the factory owners. The capitalists controlled the wages, the period of employment, the price of goods, and the quality of the product.

The capitalists now united with the other new economic groups in demanding a greater share in government for the middle class, of which they were the leading members. The capitalist had what he considered certain definite rights that he thought must be protected. Among these were the right to control prices, the right of free competition, the right to contract individually with his laborers,

in other words the right to run his business as he pleased, summed up in the expression *laissez-faire*, let things alone. Only by controlling the government did he feel that he would be protected from interference.

The commercial and industrial leaders succeeded in getting the British Reform Act of 1832 passed. By this Act the control of the House of Commons, which had been held by the landed aristocrats, was broken by the admittance of new members from the upper middle class and by the extension of representation to the large industrial areas. The Act of 1832 was followed by the Acts of 1867 and of 1884 which further provided for the extension of suffrage to men. From then until the first quarter of the twentieth century, when the Labor party came into prominence, the middle class dominated the British government. England was ruled by an aristocracy of industrial and commercial wealth which had replaced the aristocracy of the landowners. The rise of the Labor party produced a government largely controlled by workingmen and by men and women with sympathies for the workingmen.

In the United States the Industrial Revolution came somewhat later than in England. It had essentially the same development as that in England. Representation was provided whereby all classes of citizens had a share in government, including some groups that were not always in sympathy with the industrialists' ideas.

Labor Demands a Share in Government. It is well to note that in each of the countries considered--Greece, Rome, and England--the first step toward democracy was the overthrow of the king by the nobility. Second, the citizens in the industrial and commercial classes gained a share in the government and the beginnings of democracy resulted. In both Greece and Rome the groups that secured political rights included practically all of the men except slaves and foreigners. In England there were few slaves; however, a lower class existed which even after the Reform Act of 1832 did not have the ballot. This was the laboring class in the factories, mines, and on the farms. In the early days in the United States this same class had also failed to gain the right to vote. Labor demanded a share in government when it realized that its interests and those of its employers often clashed.

Prior to the Industrial Revolution there was little clash between employer and employee. They were often the same person. One man

made a product, perhaps a pair of shoes, and also marketed it. Where laborers were employed the numbers were small, and each worker looked forward to the time when, if he desired, he could open a shop of his own. Workers and masters both belonged to the guilds, and the rights and privileges of each were respected by guild regulations.

Causes of the Clash Between Labor and Capital. After the Industrial Revolution was under way, it could be clearly seen that there were many places where the interests of the employee and employer differed. Whereas in previous times there had been few employees in proportion to the employers, now there were thousands. It was impossible for most of the workers to rise to the position of employer. Consequently a distinct labor class developed to which the bulk of the population of each industrial nation belonged.

The interests of employer and employee clashed, and still clash, at one vital point, the distribution of the income from the plant or industry. The capitalist or owner wanted the highest possible profit on his investment. From his point of view anything that blocked this was injurious to him. He refused to pay his employees more than was actually necessary. To him labor was a commodity similar to raw material to be bought as cheaply as possible. He objected to spending money to improve working conditions.

Labor began to demand higher wages, shorter hours, the non-employment of women in dangerous industries, the non-employment of children, sanitary working conditions, safety devices, and accident and unemployment insurance. Capital was reluctant to meet the demands. The spirit of free competition among industries led each individual capitalist to spend as little as possible on improvements. Labor saw only one way of gaining its desires. These must be gained through government action, and in order to secure it, the citizens of the working class must be represented.

During the nineteenth century labor demanded and gained the right to vote in both England and the United States, as well as in other democratic nations. With the power of the ballot labor has been able to alleviate many of the evil conditions that accompanied the factory system. Today in most industrial nations labor constitutes one of the most powerful groups. Its work in the United States will be taken up in the next chapter.

PRESENT FORMS OF DEMOCRACY

There are two outstanding forms of present-day democracy; one is the presidential form found in the United States and the other is the parliamentary or cabinet government found in England and other democratic states in western Europe.

Presidential Democracy. Presidential democracy vests the executive power in a President. He heads one of the three separate departments of the government, the other two being the legislative and the judicial. These three branches are supposed to serve as checks upon each other. The legislative branch consists of two houses which have nearly equal powers. Neither is supposed to be dominated by the other, although the Senate, of recent years, has come to be recognized as the more influential body.

In presidential government, the President serves during a definite period of years and cannot be recalled during his term of office except for grave crimes for which he could be impeached and convicted. The President appoints and is responsible for his cabinet. They are not members of the legislative body and have no privileges in either body unless called on to appear before a congressional committee for advice or aid.

Two criticisms that have been made of the presidential system are first, the opportunity for friction and deadlock between the executive branch and the legislative branch, particularly if they belong to rival parties. The second criticism is the comparative inability of the people to impress their wishes on the government more often than once in a definite term of years (four years in the United States).

Distinct advantages of the system are the concentration of power in the hands of one person which enables him to act with force and decision in time of crisis, together with the system of checks and balances which keeps any one branch of the government from becoming too powerful.¹

¹The discussion of presidential government is limited to a few vital features because much of this book is devoted to its characteristics and problems. The brief discussion given here will enable you to compare it with parliamentary government.

Parliamentary Government. Parliamentary government developed in Europe. It is a representative democracy in which the diverse geographical, political, economic, and social interests are all represented. The government usually consists of two legislative houses of representatives, an executive cabinet formed by the strongest party, and a president or king who is nominally the head of the government but whose powers are largely limited. The chief executive powers are delegated to the chairman of the cabinet who is known as the Prime Minister.

The cabinet is made up of administrative heads and remains in power as long as the party or parties it represents has control of the parliament. It is chosen by the Prime Minister. As soon as the cabinet advocates a significant policy which the Parliament refuses to sanction, the cabinet is dissolved and a new election is called on the question of the new policy. If the party in power receives the majority, it remains in control and the policy is approved. If, however, another party receives the majority, a new cabinet is formed by the successful party, and it assumes control of the government. If no party receives a majority, a coalition government of two or more parties is formed. We shall now turn to an examination of two other forms of government now current in European countries.

TWO MODERN RIVALS OF DEMOCRACY

Fascism. Fascism represents that type of government prevalent in Europe characterized by a dictator who is maintained in power by a semi-military organization. Power is gained through violence, intimidation, and similar undemocratic methods. The purpose is to maintain the conservative, capitalistic, and middle class elements in power at the expense of the rest of the people. Fascism is opposed to representative democracy. It developed in Italy due to the demoralized conditions after the World War.

Mussolini became the dominant force in a group of "white collar" workers and of laborers organizing against groups of Communists and Socialists who were threatening to establish a soviet government similar to that in Russia. In October, 1922, Mussolini led the Fascists, as the new organization was called, on Rome and seized control of the government. The king appointed him Prime Minister. Mussolini thus became the dictator of Italy. He dominates the Fascist

party which is the only organized political group in the state. It controls the elections and the government. Similar governments are in control in Germany, Austria, Poland, and in several other European countries.

Fascism is based on the following characteristics:

(1) *Dictatorship* Fascism is the rule of one man who controls a military party and through it the state. It is opposed to the parliamentary system of democratic states. When he abolished universal suffrage, Mussolini proudly declared, "Today we solemnly bury that lie—democratic universal suffrage."

(2) *Violence* Fascism is based upon the belief in violence—the doctrine that "might makes right." Mussolini came into power through violence and maintains his rule by the force of the "Black Shirts," a military organization.

(3) *Representation Based Upon Occupational Groups* One-half of the members of the Chamber of Deputies, the largest house in the Italian Parliament, are chosen by corporations representing agriculture, industry, commerce, transportation, banking, and professional men. Fascism does not believe that geographical representation is truly representative. However, representation means very little in Italy.

(4) *Regimentation of Industry* Four principles govern the economic life of Italy. These are (a) provision for the legal recognition of syndicates (a form of labor unions), placing them control in the state, (b) recognition of the validity of collective labor contracts, (c) prohibition of lockouts and strikes, and (d) establishment of a labor court to settle controversies and disputes. The decisions of this court have the force of law. The labor courts have the power to fix wages and prices in industries involved in labor disputes. Labor and industry, then, are, in Fascism, creatures of the state, and are completely regimented by the state.

(5) *Supremacy of the State* In Fascism the citizen exists for the state—not the state for the individual citizen as in democracies. Appiane, Attorney-General of the Italian Supreme Court, declared, "Yesterday the individual was regarded as the supreme end, and the State as its means. Today the State exists for the Race and the nation to which the fate of the individual is subordinated."

(6) *Intense Nationalism* Italy had arrived late in the race for colonies. England and France especially had appropriated the most

valuable ones. Mussolini has declared that Italy must again control the Empire of the Cæsars, and in order to have strength to regain her lost glory she must have a population of 60,000,000 by 1950 (she now has 40,000,000), her army must be second to none in Europe, and her merchant marine, aviation, industries, agriculture, and population must be first

(7) *Symbolism and Showmanship* The Fascist state relies for its existence on a great amount of symbolism and showmanship. Uniforms for members are commonly employed. There must be black shirts, brown shirts, or silver shirts ornamented with emblems. The wearers, whether adults or children, engage in marching, and other military activities, and the salute which they use is always characteristic. Their leaders engage in dramatic acts thereby impressing the membership of the party with the elements of heroism in their efforts.

Fascism has provided an efficient government for Italy. This is probably because it has had an able leader in Mussolini. He has rebuilt the financial, industrial, and military life of the nation and has provided it with a belief in itself and its future. He has become symbolic of a nationalistic power and patriotism that the masses can worship. It has doubtless destroyed the individuality of millions of Italians, but has provided them with leadership and an efficiency that Italy had not known since the best days of the Roman Empire. However, as one writer has expressed it, "It is a grave question whether having our railroad trains on time is to be preferred to having free speech and the other advantages of democracy."

Communism. Communism, as developed in Russia, is the state ownership and management of the means of production for the benefit of the workers, or producers. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat. In 1912 Russia consisted of 140,000,000 people divided into two classes. Seven per cent were in the ruling class, consisting of the Czar, his family, and the Russian nobility. They lived in a realm of luxury and culture. Ninety-three per cent of the population were serfs and workers. There was no large middle class as western Europe and the United States know it. The bulk of the lower class were illiterate, superstitious, and poverty-stricken. All but a very small percentage lived on the land. They were divided into many races, speaking scores of languages and dialects. Many were perse-

cuted for religious or racial causes. All contributed through heavy taxes to the support of the Czar and the nobility. Thousands of the peasants died annually from famine and disease. Politically, economically, and socially the life of the peasants and workers was one of virtual slavery to the upper class.

Following the defeat by Germany in the World War the Russian peasants, soldiers, and workers revolted under the leadership of Lenin and established a soviet government. A soviet is a group or council. The workers are organized in small soviets by trades or industries. These soviets elect representatives to local soviets who in turn send delegates to provincial, regional, and national soviets.

The chief characteristics of the Russian communistic society are the following:

(1) *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. Theoretically, Russia is ruled by the workers and peasants. They alone have the suffrage. All adults who make a living by either mental or manual labor may vote. Men engaged in private business, religious employees, and members of the former ruling dynasty may not vote. In order to protect the worker, the Communists place the government directly in his hands.

(2) *Occupational Representation*. There are rural soviets which represent agricultural interests. The city soviets represent and are elected by the various occupational groups in the city, one member being elected for each 200 citizens in the various labor unions. Over 90 per cent of the workers are members of unions.

(3) *Communist Party Domination*. The actual rule of the country is in the hands of the Communist party which has been largely dominated by such powerful leaders as Lenin and Stalin. The party is the most important agency by which communistic propaganda is disseminated throughout the land. Through its newspapers, pamphlets, speeches, demonstrations, and other means, some of them violent, it molds public opinion and controls public action. In securing and in maintaining its domination the Communist party has restrained the exercise of personal liberty on the part of those who disagree with its policies. At present there are communistic parties in all the leading countries of the world, and in most of the colonies and dependencies controlled by them. These parties belong to the Third International. Communism flourishes in lands where class injustice and economic inequality and poverty are greatest.

(4) *Russia a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics* After the revolution Russia encouraged each of the divisions of the old empire to accept local self-government. These are now united in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

(5) *State Control of the Means of Production* Theoretically, in a communistic society the workers constitute the state and there is no private enterprise. All work for the state, and all property belongs to the state and is shared by each one in proportion to his needs, just as he produces in proportion to his ability. There is but one class—all are workers of hand or mind. This ideal of Communism has not been reached in Russia. However, the major means of production are operated by the state through state trusts. Each is a monopoly of its respective industry. Profits belong to the state and are either used to assist a weaker industry or to raise the general level of living.

(6) *State Planning* A state that contains a great diversity of resources and owns the chief means of production can do many things that other states cannot do. One of these is to plan the future economic development of the country. In order to raise the level of social and economic well-being of the Russian population, the government organized a planning commission with national and local committees which in 1927 presented the first Five Year Plan for economic development of the U S S R.

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST OF DEMOCRACY, FASCISM, AND COMMUNISM

These three movements, democracy, Fascism, and Communism, are alike in that each believes in reform. The procedure in a democracy is to allow the various elements in society to bring about their changes by evolutionary development within the framework of present-day government. It demands a flexible form of political machinery that is sensitive to the needs of the people.

Fascism is essentially a dictatorship which is opposed to democratic ideals. The state decides all questions and attempts to keep the major groups of capital and labor in equilibrium—both regimented by the state. Fascism is essentially nationalistic.

Communism settles the conflict of capital and labor by eliminating

the capitalists as a class and placing the control of industry in the hands of the state which is dominated by the workers. It is virtually, however, a dictatorship of a small group which claims to represent labor.

There are many people in the United States who are advocating that we make this country even more democratic than it is now. This, they claim, would be a safeguard against the development of either Fascism or Communism. This expansion of democracy is the best insurance for continued political and social harmony.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. Why was it necessary to curtail the power of kings?
2. Distinguish between a monarchy and an aristocracy.
3. Why do aristocracies inevitably degenerate?
4. Explain the development of democracy in Athens and of representative government in Rome.
5. In what respects did the development of democracy in England follow the same steps as its evolution in Greece? In what ways was its development similar to that in Rome?
6. What was the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the evolution of democracy?
7. Why did the manufacturers desire a share in government? Why did the laborers?
8. Explain the reasons for a clash between capital and labor.
9. Compare and contrast the presidential form of democracy with the parliamentary form. What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?
10. What is Fascism? Explain how it came into power in Italy.
11. In what respect is Fascism opposed to democracy? What are the seven characteristics of Fascism given in the text?
12. What are the advantages and disadvantages of Fascism?
13. Why did Communism develop in Russia?
14. Upon what beliefs has Communism based its control?
15. Explain each of the six characteristics given for Russian Communism. Criticize each of them.
16. What are the advantages and disadvantages of Communism as it is carried out in the U S S R?
17. In what respects are democracy, Fascism, and Communism alike? What are their differences?
18. What values are contained in democracy that are lost in each of the other two?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Is the development of the factory system always accompanied by a struggle on the part of the masses for representation in the government? Give illustrations and some details
2. In what respects, if any, is democracy lacking in the United States?
3. Reference is made in this chapter to the French Revolution and to the Russian Revolution. Explain the circumstances leading up to these revolutions, the important events which developed, the period of time when the revolutions were carried on, and something of the leaders of the movements.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. Are there any evidences of fascist or communistic activities in your community? If so, what are the beliefs and demands of the group or groups?
2. To what extent are labor leaders and middle class groups represented in your state legislature and in Congress? Study the biographical sketches given in your state yearbook for information that will help you. Do the same for your city council, school board, and other local governing bodies.

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Chapter 3 GROUPS DEMAND REPRESENTATION

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To show that democracy is still in the process of extension
- 2 To explain how minority groups are demanding shares in government.

IN THE last chapter it was pointed out that democracy has expanded as more and more groups have succeeded in gaining the right to vote. At the same time they gained the right to be represented in their government. In the United States this struggle for suffrage and greater representation is still going on among groups within our population. The laborers, the women, and the various minority races are perhaps the most important of these groups.

LABOR DEMANDS REPRESENTATION

The Employee-Employer Groups. Since the establishment of the republic, the employers have been among the men of wealth in the country. They have directed the political, economic, and social life of the nation. Less numerous than the common people, their wealth and social position have made them the leaders of public opinion. Since the middle of the nineteenth century the employees

have constituted the bulk of the citizens, but their inferior status has made them less powerful than their numbers would indicate. Nevertheless the consciousness of power that has been growing among the laborers and the increased activity on their behalf by other groups in the state make it vitally important that we understand the conflict of interests that has grown up between the employees and employers.

The Common Man Demands Suffrage. When the United States was organized the Constitution left the question of suffrage to the various states. The early state constitutions conferred the power of voting upon freeholders (property owners only).¹ Many of our early political leaders were opposed to giving the ballot to people without property. "The tumultuous populace of the large cities," warned Washington, "are ever to be dreaded." Jefferson declared, "the mobs of the great cities" to be "sores on the body politic."

The workers on the farms and in the cities early demanded an extension of the suffrage. As the new states were admitted into the Union full manhood suffrage was written into their state constitutions. These states were mostly settled by laborers and small farmers from the East who had been demanding the right to vote. In the older states the fight for full manhood suffrage was of a longer duration. Here vested interests in property were stronger than on the frontier and it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that full manhood suffrage was a reality in state elections, and not until 1928 that all property restrictions were abolished. In that year Rhode Island discarded the real estate qualification of \$134 for voting in city elections. The greatest extension of manhood suffrage came between the years of 1830 and 1850. While the population nearly doubled during these two decades, the number of voters practically tripled.

Needs of the Laborers. The common man desired the ballot in order to secure certain definite reforms. Among these were the establishment of a public school system, the granting of free or cheap western lands, the prevention of imprisonment for debt, the abolition of monopolies, the enactment of bankruptcy laws, the legalizing of equal rights for women, the abolition of chattel and

¹ Except in South Carolina and New Hampshire which had abolished property qualifications for voters by the time they entered the Union.

labor slavery, the enactment of mechanics' lien laws, and the restriction of child labor.

Laborers also desired to shorten the working day, which had been generally from sunup to sundown, to increase wages, and to make working conditions more sanitary. Some of the desires of labor were met through the use of the ballot. Imprisonment for debt was abolished, mechanics' lien laws were enacted, and free schools were established. The decision of the government in 1840 to fix ten hours as the working day for government employees established this, from the point of view of labor at least, as the ideal length of the working day. It was several decades, however, before the ten-hour day was universally accepted. The government's policy, at the instigation of laborers, small farmers, and others, of encouraging emigration to cheap western lands aided the common man by providing an outlet for dissatisfied workers. This migration of laborers from the East to the West probably tended to keep wages higher and hours shorter than would otherwise have been the case.

Industry After the Civil War. The Civil War stimulated the growth of industry. With its rise came many new problems and the emphasizing of several old ones. The development of business, with the consequent increase in wealth and power of the capitalists and the parallel increase in numbers and strength of the laboring class, brought a clearer contrast of the rival interests of the two groups. John C. Calhoun, speaking in the Senate, had years before warned the nation of the impending issue:

It is useless to disguise the fact, there is, and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization, a conflict between labor and capital . . . We have, in fact, but just entered upon that condition of society where the strength and durability of our political institutions are to be tested.

Capital and Labor Organize. Both capital and labor relied upon organizations (unions, associations, and the like) for making their demands articulate. Both entered the field of politics. However, each relied mainly upon attempts to control the dominant parties from within rather than upon organizing new parties. Farmers and workmen engaged in sporadic attempts, however, to organize separate parties from the Republican and the Democratic organizations which they claimed were controlled too much by capitalists. In the seventies the Liberal Republicans had their fling, in the eighties the

Green Backers promised relief, in the nineties the Populists gained attention. By 1912 the Socialists had come to attract notice. In the present decade the Farmer-Laborites and Progressives are attracting much attention in the Northwest. All of these party movements were largely the product of the activity of city laborers and of farmers. During the period following the Civil War we see giant corporations, trusts, and commercial associations arising for the purpose of consolidating business enterprises. The old individual manufacturer practically disappeared. By 1900 three-fourths of the manufactured products came from factories owned by associations of stockholders.

American Federation of Labor While not as powerful as organizations of laborers in foreign countries, the most important organization of laborers has been the American Federation of Labor. Its advocacy of measures that have been carried into politics (the eight-hour day, minimum wage laws, and the like) has caused it to sponsor those candidates for office who pledge themselves to support its measures. Candidates for public office are respectful of large organized groups of voters, hence the A. F. of L. has been able to secure the enactment of many measures that might not have been secured had it entered politics as a party.¹

The Socialist Party The most important political party that has been developed among laborers is the Socialist party. Numerically it has been weak, never having polled over a million votes in a general election. It has never been able, because of many of its most radical proposals to secure the allegiance of a large number of the laboring population. It advocates the abolition of private control of the essential means of production and proposes to curb the profit system by substituting government ownership of the essential means of production. The Socialists would have the government operate such important industries as the railroads, the coal mines, the electric industry, and many other enterprises in addition to the post office, the highways, the schools, and welfare institutions, which are now publicly operated.

While some of the political proposals of the Socialists have been adopted, their economic program has not met with general approval. Woman suffrage was proposed in the Socialist platform before it

¹ For a further discussion of the work of labor unions and the influence of organized groups on government see Chapter 20.

appeared in that of either major party. The income tax was first proposed by the Socialists, as was the direct election of the United States Senators. The Socialists, early in their history, urged the establishment of a parcel post system, the creation of the postal savings system, and today urge the further extension of the use of the post offices for performing banking functions. Its constant agitation for advanced social legislation favoring the working classes has been an influence in American political life during the past forty years.

The Capitalists Many of the owners saw in the development of the program of the workers a serious handicap to the growth of the vast industrial machine that they had been developing. They were jealous of their rights to manage their industries as they saw fit. Some of them mistrusted the motives of the workers, and saw in their demands the stifling of initiative, the overthrow of individualism, and a menace to the rights of private property. For these reasons many of the capitalists felt justified in fighting the labor program in every possible manner. They were justly proud of the development of the nation under their leadership and felt that chaos would result if the more extreme demands of labor were granted. They pointed out the ignorant and often unscrupulous actions of many of the labor leaders. They showed that some of them were grafters and interested only in promoting their own welfare at the expense of the worker.

However, capitalists endeavored to maintain harmonious relationships with labor. They improved working conditions, and in some cases voluntarily raised wages, shortened hours, and developed profit-sharing schemes. They encouraged the workers to buy shares in the business and otherwise led them to look upon the plant as a co-operative enterprise jointly owned by workers and employers.

Quite often the more enlightened employers aided workers in getting social legislation passed by the state legislatures. They believed that humane and sanitary working conditions made for better workmanship and that a prosperous and intelligent working class made better markets for their products. In other cases employers failed to provide satisfactory working conditions and aroused the antagonism of their laborers who sometimes entered the more militant labor organizations.

Gains of Labor Due to a long program of education, and, in some cases, marked by political and industrial conflicts, the laboring classes have succeeded in making some definite gains. Among these is a growing recognition of the right of collective bargaining. Other gains that have been made are (1) state laws providing for the arbitration of labor disputes (these have benefited both labor and capital), (2) laws and agreements establishing the eight-hour day, (3) state laws protecting the safety and health of workers, (4) establishment of government employment agencies, (5) prohibition of sweat shops (some states), (6) minimum wage laws in a few states, (7) free public education from the elementary school through state colleges and universities in all states, (8) establishment by the federal government of the Department of Labor in 1913, and (9) restrictive immigration. (For a full discussion of social legislation see Chapter 12.)

Labor Problems still Confronting the United States. Some of the problems still confronting the nation in which labor and capital are vitally interested are (1) the use of the injunction in labor disputes, (2) a more complete recognition of labor unions and collective bargaining, (3) provisions for support of workers during periods of unemployment and for old age pensions, (4) provisions for adequate and more equitable distribution of the profits of industry between labor and capital, (5) stabilization of business, and (6) a more equitable system of taxation. The solution of these problems remains a question upon which authorities differ. Upon their solution depends the happiness and welfare of large numbers of citizens in every walk of life.

WOMEN DEMAND EQUAL RIGHTS WITH MEN

Another large group that has been contending for representation in the government is the women. In the early years of the nineteenth century there was no question but that "woman's place was in the home." She was dependent upon her father or husband for support. The only career open to her was marriage. The law limited her rights and activities. All property belonged to her husband, and if she earned any money it belonged to him, also. Political life was, of course, closed to women.

The employment of women under the factory system opened up

a way for them to gain economic freedom. With a steady income they became somewhat independent and from then on marriage became less of an economic necessity. With the establishment of public schools and the increase of women teachers, another line of work was opened to women.

The first important demand made by women was for equal educational opportunities. Higher education for women began with the opening of Oberlin College, Ohio, as a coeducational college in 1833, and Mount Holyoke College for Women in 1837. These were followed by other women's colleges and coeducational institutions.

There were many inequalities and social injustices that women wished to right. They early began the practice of maintaining lobbies at national and state capitals. Chief among their early activities were anti-slavery agitation, temperance work, the cause for better treatment for the insane, work for international agreements mitigating the horrors of war, and agitation for legislation regulating the employment of women and children.

Women were also desirous of extending their fields of work. Some of them wished to become doctors, lawyers, or ministers. Many states legally barred them from these and other occupations. The desire for the abolishment of these restrictions proved a powerful incentive for agitation for woman's suffrage. In 1848 a women's rights convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York. This convention drew up a woman's "Declaration of Independence," asserting that "all men and women are created equal" and demanding political, legal, economic, and educational equality with men.

Some of the arguments used for woman's suffrage are well expressed in a paper read in a hearing before the Judiciary Committee of the Senate in 1912 by Mrs. Elsie Cole Phillips, representative of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. This association was trying to persuade Congress to propose a constitutional amendment legalizing woman's suffrage. The paper said in part:

Woman suffrage is a necessity from both a political and an economic standpoint. We can never have democratic rule until we let the women vote. We can never have real freedom until the women are free. Women are now citizens in all but the main expression of citizenship—the

exercise of the vote. They need this power to round out and complete their citizenship . . . In political matters they have much the same interests as men have. In state and national issues their interests differ little, if at all, from men. In municipal questions they have an even greater interest than men have. All the complex questions of housing, schooling, policing, sanitation and kindred matters are peculiarly the interest of women as the home makers and the rearers of children. Women need and must have the ballot by which to protect their interests in these political and administrative matters.

Woman's Suffrage. In 1869 the National Woman's Suffrage Association was organized. Its object was to secure the ballot through action in the individual states. The Territory of Wyoming granted equal suffrage to women in 1869, and incorporated this in its state constitution when it was admitted to the union in 1890. Some states allowed women to vote only in minor elections, while a few granted full suffrage to women.

Shortly after President Wilson's inauguration, a delegation of women waited on the President, hoping to secure his aid for the cause of woman's suffrage. The President stated that the matter was "entirely new" to him and had "never been brought to his attention." The women then began a course of action that kept the matter constantly before him. They picketed the White House, paraded the streets of Washington, talked with Congressmen, and kept up a constant stream of agitation for six years.

The militant campaign in Washington during these years was one of strife and anguish for the women. The pickets were fined, mobbed, and jailed. They were subjected to the most humiliating and degrading treatment in jail. Many went on hunger strikes. They were refused the right to hold meetings, to parade, to picket, or otherwise advocate their cause in public. All of this intimidation, however, was of no avail. They continued their work and new agitators filled the ranks of those who were arrested. Finally they convinced Congress and the Administration that their demands must be granted. This was done in June, 1919, when Congress proposed to the states the nineteenth amendment, granting equal political rights to women.

After the proposed amendment was submitted to the states it was reasonably sure to pass, as fifteen states already had complete suffrage and all but nine of the remainder had granted partial

suffrage to women. Tennessee's ratification in 1920 made the thirty-sixth state to ratify, and woman's suffrage became a reality.

Results of Woman's Suffrage. Women were not unanimous in taking advantage of their right to vote. At no time since 1920 have as large a percentage of eligible women voted as men. The percentage of women voting, however, is more rapidly increasing than is that of the men, and it is expected that women will, as a whole, take advantage of their privilege of voting as extensively as do the men.

Two political successes rewarded women's efforts shortly after the granting of the franchise. One was the Maternity and Infancy Law of 1921, and the other the Cable Act of 1922, giving independent citizenship to married women. Women leaders have also been active in pushing the proposed Child Labor Amendment, which in 1935 had been ratified by twenty-four states.

Women have been given equal representation with men on the national committee of each of the political parties and have been well represented in national conventions. By 1935 seventeen women had been elected to the House of Representatives. Of these, seven were wives of former Representatives. In 1935, six Representatives and one Senator were women. In that year there was also a scattering of women in the federal administrative departments. Among them were Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor; Josephine Roche, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Nellie Taylor Ross, Director of the Mint; Louise Stanley, Chief of the Bureau of Home Economics; Ruth Shipley, Chief of the Passport Division; Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau, and Katherine Lenroot, Director of the Children's Bureau.¹ In addition to these there were several women who were departmental librarians and secretaries in responsible positions. Ruth Bryan Owen was United States Minister to Denmark and Florence Allen was a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio. Women have been even more successful in securing positions of responsibility in local governments. They have been elected at one time or another to practically all county, municipal, and state offices, including those of sheriff, governor, mayor, councilman, and legislator. In 1935 there were over 130 women members of state legislatures.

¹ Julia Lathrop and Grace Abbott, predecessors of Katherine Lenroot, provided great service to mothers and children in building up this bureau.

MINORITY RACES AND PEOPLES

Mr. Pollard and Tom were sitting in the living room one evening when Tom said, "Father, I see by the paper that the Supreme Court has upheld the right of the Democratic Party to bar Negroes from voting in the Democratic primaries in Texas. Won't that practically keep the Negroes from having anything to say about the government of that state?"

"Yes, it will," Mr Pollard replied. "You must realize, though, that a political party is a private organization and, hence, can determine its own membership. Since the Civil War the Democratic Party has been the only large political party in the South, and, therefore, the primary election is really the only election that counts. This marks a stage in the fight that the Negroes, along with other large groups of people, have been waging for an extension of the suffrage to larger and larger numbers of our population. You may remember from your United States history that when the federal government was established, in general, only male property holders were allowed to vote. Laborers, both in the city and country, members of colored races, and women were barred from voting. The struggle that these groups have made, and are still making, for equal rights and privileges is one of the most thrilling stories in the development of democracy. The struggle of the Negro has been particularly intense."

"Yes," Tom said, "I remember reading that there were several schemes developed soon after the Civil War to bar Negroes from voting. One requirement for suffrage was that no one might vote whose ancestors had not voted before the war. This has been known as the 'Grandfather clause' and was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Another device was the provision that any male person of voting age who had paid his poll tax might register to vote, providing he could write accurately and explain correctly a paragraph of the state constitution as it was read to him. Any person owning or paying taxes on five hundred dollars' worth of property might vote whether literate or illiterate. Such provisions, of course, could be used to bar practically all Negroes."

As Tom and his father have indicated, the Negro problem is the most extensive racial problem that the United States faces. It might

be less serious if members of the race were scattered about the nation, but in large areas of the South the Negro population equals, and in some instances exceeds, that of the whites. The following table illustrates the comparative populations of whites and blacks in some southern states and cities.

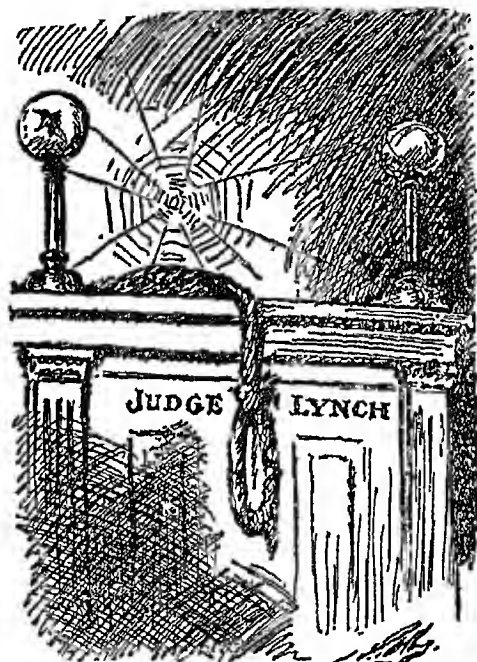
COMPARISON OF THE NUMBERS OF NEGROES WITH WHITES IN SOME SOUTHERN STATES AND CITIES, 1930

State	Whites	Negroes	Per Cent of Total Population That Is Negro
Georgia	1,837,000	1,071,000	37
Louisiana	1,318,000	776,000	37
Mississippi	996,000	1,010,000	50
North Carolina	2,251,000	919,000	29
South Carolina	944,000	704,000	45
City			
Atlanta	180,000	90,000	33
Birmingham	160,000	100,000	39
Memphis	157,000	96,000	38
New Orleans	328,000	130,000	28

Discrimination Against the Negro In the United States Negroes are discriminated against in a number of ways. Ordinarily they are not admitted to labor unions and hence in some places they are barred from the skilled trades. For this reason they often receive lower wages than those paid to white workers. There is probably less discrimination against the Negro in the South than in the North as far as labor is concerned. A generation ago in the North the Negro had a monopoly on personal service work. Most of our barbers, waiters, porters, and bootblacks were Negroes, but that monopoly has been largely broken by European immigrants. The Negro has had a more extensive opportunity in the South than in the North to engage in professional, skilled, and semi-skilled work.

In the South there has developed a dual system of public services and conveniences in hotels, restaurants, street cars, and railroad trains whereby the Negro and the whites do not come into intimate social and business contact. The Negro feels uncertain of getting justice in courts when cases involving both whites and blacks arouse racial prejudices. In the past the refusal of some southern courts to allow Negro juries to be empaneled aroused

national interest. However, there is a growing tendency for southern courts to use Negro jurymen. A decision of the United States Supreme Court in April, 1935, ruled that the trial of Clarence Norris, a Negro involved in the Scottsboro (Alabama) case, was invalid because of the barring of Negroes from jury duty. This decision caused Governor Graves of Alabama to issue a proclamation that the jury lists of the state must be revised to include Negroes.



Courtesy Memphis Commercial Appeal
JUDGE LYNCH

In the past the worst discrimination which the Negroes experienced consisted of the constant fear of violence at the hands of white lynching mobs. Lynchings have occurred in the North as well as in the South. In the past forty years over 3,000 Negroes and about 1,000 whites were killed by mobs in the United States. Of this number nearly a hundred were women. Determined efforts are being made by state and federal governments to stamp out lynchings. The Governor of Tennessee recently called out the militia

to effect the dispersal of a lynching mob, and Congress, at recent sessions, has entertained bills to provide for the punishment of lynchers as well as for the punishment of public officials who permit lynch rule to operate.

A citizen¹ of the South and a professor of the University of North Carolina gives his estimate of the violence used against Negroes and the futility of it when he writes:

Lynching attains none of the ends for which it has been defended. It proves no superiority. It clarifies no issues. It brings no happiness. It adds nothing to the richness of human life or the development of social personality. It accentuates devastating fear. It sets the folkways over against the stateways in lawless revolt. It cheapens human life and lessens respect for human liberty and personality. It defeats the ends of justice. It violates all the better traditions of Southern honor and ideals. It sets the strong brutally against the weak. It negates the South's claim for excellence and genius in the science of politics. Its cost is frightful in money and men. It drains off energies and resources. It blackens the reputation of every state. It cripples a race and handicaps a region. It intensifies racial animosities, isolates a section, sets people against people, and retards a wholesome integration of national culture.

Civic Aims of the Negro. The chief organization striving to improve the condition of the Negroes is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It has stated as its objectives that it seeks "to uplift the colored men and women of this country by securing to them the full enjoyment of their rights as citizens, justice in all courts, and equality of opportunity everywhere." W. E. B. DuBois, a Negro leader, further states that this organization "conceives its mission to be the completion of the work which the Great Emancipator began. It proposes to make a group of ten million Americans free from the lingering shackles of past slavery, physically free from peonage, mentally free from ignorance, politically free from disenfranchisement, and socially free from insult."

From the Negro's point of view the ballot is the key to his problem. George W. Streater,² a Negro, expressed this very clearly in an article in *The Crisis*:

¹Odum, H. W., "Lynching, Fears, and Folkways," *The Nation*, 133:79, December 30, 1931. Reprinted by permission from the editors of *The Nation*.

²Streater, George W., "The Colored South Speaks for Itself," *The Crisis*, December, 1933, p. 275. Reprinted by permission of *The Crisis*.

The Negro has only one weapon to use . . . That weapon is the ballot. North Carolina Negroes must be registered if it takes fifty lawsuits to do it. Negroes are voting in considerable numbers in Virginia, and they should vote in North Carolina in even larger numbers. With an intelligent ballot, the Negro may not be able immediately to remake North Carolina society, but it should seek to join forces with those elements of the white population who are willing to vote the rascals out. If the new crowd is guilty of the same disregard of the Negro, then vote the new crowd out. Uncle Toms and their like will caution against this, but if a people have no ballot in a democracy, they have no power.

Inter-Racial Co-operation. While all is not well between the white and colored races, nevertheless, there are distinct signs of improvement and many leaders of both races are working for a harmonious solution of the problem. Improvement will be greater as more citizens patiently inform themselves of the situation. The improvements will become more striking as the Negroes become better educated and succeed in having more of their members recognized as intelligent and responsible citizens. The following quotation from an editorial represents an attempt to point the way to greater inter-racial harmony.¹

In our own relatively small sphere of relations between the races in America, both sides have been blind to the needs of the day. The Negro has had good cause to be suspicious of his white folk of all classes and the white folk, in turn, have had reason to fear the competition of the Negroes in many lines of endeavor. It ought to be apparent to most thinking members of both races by now, however, that the methods of hunting security employed in the past cannot lead to the goal. In the changes taking place daily—even hourly—here and elsewhere in the world, there can be no security for whites or blacks without unity of the two on a program of common good. . . . To this end the Negro must realize that there are white folk today with whom he can make a beginning at real unity. Not all of them reside in the North. Not all of them are so-called “quality,” many are workers. *The Crisis* believes that the first steps should be made by colored people even at the risk of rebuff and misunderstanding. We urge that colored people rid themselves of stereotyped ideas of whites, just as we importune whites to discard stereotypes of Negroes. Some of the hardest workers against lynching today are Southern white people, not only those who issue statements against lynching, but those who appreciate that lynching is rooted in exploitation. The millions of unorganized white farmers and workers can be persuaded, but the job requires patience and persistence.

¹ “Our White Folk,” *The Crisis*, January, 1935, pp. 16-17. Reprinted by permission of *The Crisis*.

The first step is painstaking study of the factors hitherto neglected by most Negroes and whites—economics, elements of political economy, and history of labor and capital.

Other Racial Groups. The Chinese, Japanese, and Indians have become problems, not so much because of their vast numbers—there are comparatively few of each—but because of special conditions relating to them. The Chinese and Japanese come from thickly populated lands. If allowed to enter in large numbers white citizens of western United States fear the economic competition of the Orientals. Federal acts excluding the Japanese and Chinese have been passed that have caused international complications, particularly with Japan. There are at present about 140,000 Japanese and 75,000 Chinese in the United States.

Our Indian problem results partly from past attempts to impose our culture upon the Red Men. This policy is now being changed by a capable Indian Bureau under the direction of John Collier who is eager to conserve and revive the best achievements of Indian life and civilization.

Minority Groups in Government. Minority peoples present a number of problems in American political life. They desire aid and relief from the government. They are intensely anxious for their children to become educated, they desire equal consideration from the courts and from the government agencies. They resent discriminations by other citizens, or by acts of the government. Furthermore, they wish representation in local, state, and national governments. The Negroes and foreign born of New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia send some of their members to the state legislatures. In some cases Negroes have been elected to membership in city councils.

In the five-year period ending in 1930 twenty-seven Negroes had been elected to sit in state legislatures. The largest number had been elected in Illinois, seven Representatives, and one Senator. Four were elected in Missouri, and three each in West Virginia and Nebraska. Other states electing one or more were California, Kansas, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

The Negroes are reputed to hold the balance of power in West Virginia, where Democrats and Republicans are rather evenly divided. They also claim to be a powerful influence in Ohio, while

in Illinois a Negro¹ continues to be elected to Congress from Chicago

The Jews are always an important factor in New York politics. Usually each major party in New York nominates a Jew for some state office. We can understand the reason for doing this when we realize that there are nearly 500,000 Jews of voting age in New York. In 1932 New York and Illinois each elected a Jew as Governor. New York City, with more than 400,000 persons of Italian birth, elected La Guardia, a man of Italian origin, as Mayor. Chicago, with a large and influential Czech population, elected Anton Cermak, a Czech, Mayor, while at the same time two of the Chicago suburbs, Berwyn and Cicero, each with large Czech populations, also elected Czechs as Mayors. We find in our large cities that there are political clubs consisting almost exclusively of Polish, of Italian, of Lithuanian, of Irish, or of German members. An examination of the names of the members of the legislature in such states as New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio will reveal a distinct classification of members on the basis of nationality. Irish, Germans, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, Scandinavians, and Czechs are likely to exert enough influence in local politics to demand that some members of their group sit in the legislature, in the city council, or possibly on the county board.² The Congressional delegation from New York City (74th Congress, elected, 1934) included such names as Sullivan, Boylan, O'Connor, Fitzpatrick, Snovich, Marcantonio, and Dickstein.

Group Representation and Democracy. We learned in Chapter 1 that the ideal democratic state is one in which all groups have equal rights of expression and equal privileges within the social order. From this it can be seen that as the various groups discussed in this chapter, and other groups that may arise, gain an equality of rights with other more privileged groups within the nation, democracy can be said to have become more nearly a reality. Just that soon will most of the causes of friction and discontent

¹ Oscar De Priest served in Congress from Chicago for three terms. In 1934 he was defeated by Arthur Mitchell, another Negro.

² In the Illinois legislature (elected in 1934) we find such names, representative of distinctive nationality groups, as Noonan, Boyle, Bolger, Shanahan, Fitzgerald, Ryan, Broderick, Adamowski, Petrone, Coia, De Grazio, Knauf, Koehler, O'Grady, Kaindi, Leonardo, and Kielminski.

GROUPS DEMAND REPRESENTATION

be banished. No state is safe from trouble in which there are groups that are seriously discriminated against. The democratic way of life is opposed to such abuses, and it is the duty of citizens to study them and aid in arriving at some conclusion that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" may be the goal of all.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. Why do laborers and other social groups desire representative government?
2. What problems have been facing labor as a group?
3. Why has labor attempted to gain even wider representative government?
4. What were the attitudes of early government leaders toward being represented in government?
5. What are the demands that labor has made of government?
6. What has been the nature of the opposition to labor's attempt to better its condition?
7. Why have the employers as a whole been opposed to better representation of labor in government?
8. List some of the successes in labor's struggle for recognition.
9. Why is labor's struggle an important feature in modern political and social life?
10. What types of legislation did organized women want?
11. Why did women desire the ballot?
12. How did they finally secure woman's suffrage?
13. What are some of the important positions in the United States, are, or have been, held by women?
14. Why have white groups, where there is a large Negro population, prevented Negro participation in politics? How have they done this?
15. What do Negroes as a race desire? Criticize their aims.
16. What does Odum say is the result of lynchings?
17. What does the editorial from *The Crisis* suggest should be done to solve the Negro problem?
18. To what extent have minority racial groups been able to secure political representation?
19. Why are the Japanese and Chinese peoples a problem?
20. Are the political, social, and economic gains made by groups as those assigned in this chapter steps toward greater democracy for all? Explain.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Should Negroes be discriminated against in theaters, restaurants, and other public places? Discuss
- 2 What, if anything, should be done to reduce the number of the various minority groups in the United States?
- 3 What reasons can you give for the extensive migration of the Negroes from the South to the North? Should any arm of the government assume some responsibility for finding locations for these and other people forced to move by economic reasons?
- 4 Was the United States justified in passing the Exclusion Act against the Japanese? Explain
- 5 Should labor in the United States organize a Labor party similar to that in Great Britain? Why?
- 6 What has been the effect upon politics of woman's suffrage? What do you believe the future effect will be?
- 7 Why is there apt to be less friction, discontent, and violence in a truly democratic state than in an undemocratic one? Why is a state that is moving toward democracy certain to have problems similar to those discussed in this chapter?
- 8 Be able to report on the following Negro, labor, and suffragette leaders: W E B DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, Booker T Washington, Mordecai W Johnson, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Samuel Gompers, William Green, Eugene Debs, Norman Thomas, Robert LaFollette, Margaret Fuller, Susan B Anthony, Frances Wright, Carrie Chapman Catt, and Alice Paul

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. What minority groups do you have in your community? What part of the population do they constitute? Consult the census if necessary. Does the existence of minority racial groups, if any, make for peculiar social or political problems in your community? Explain the problems that may arise. What is being done, or can be done, to solve these problems?
2. Have there been any labor difficulties in your community in recent years? If so, what issues were involved? What role, if any, did the government play in settling the dispute?
3. Interview some prominent leader in woman's work in your community and discover the stand that organized women are taking on local, state, and national questions.

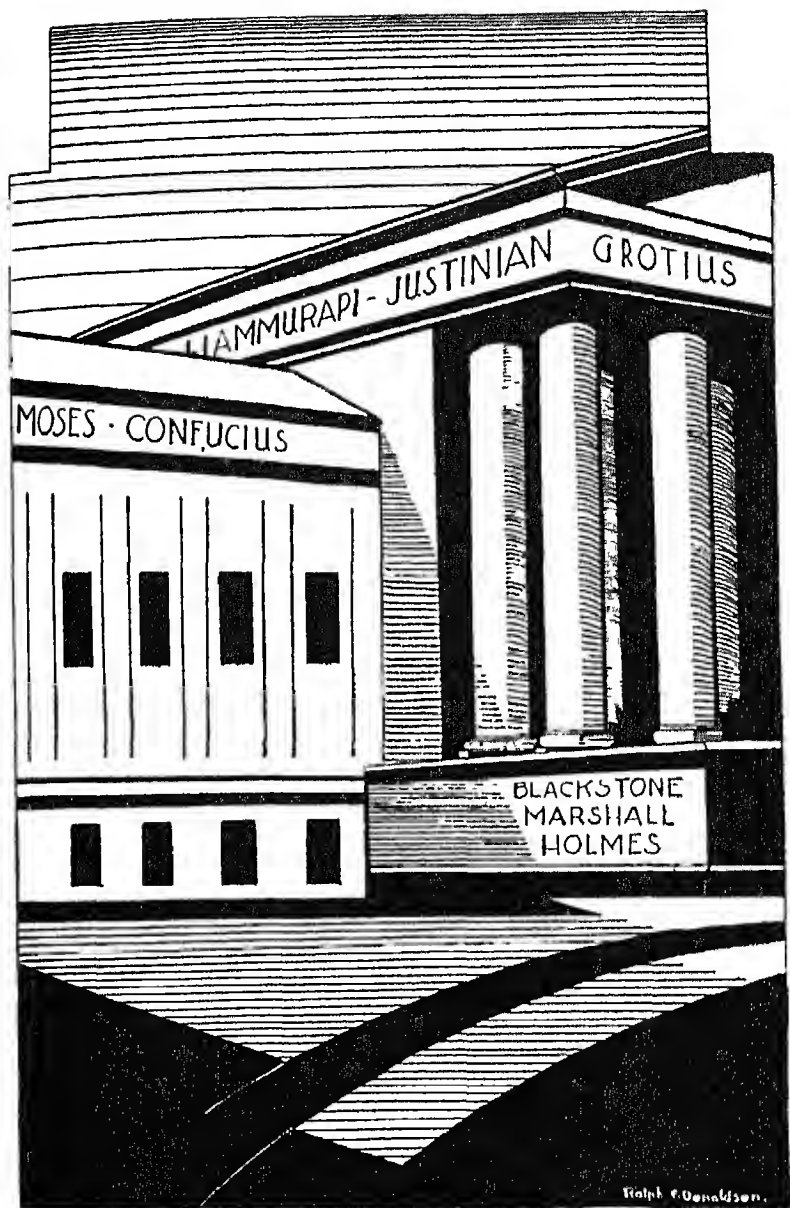
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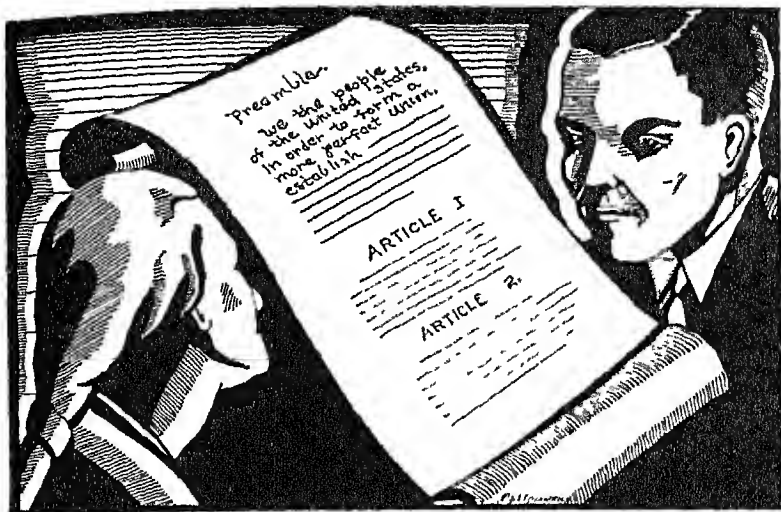
PART II

THE CITIZEN PREFERS AN ORDERLY
GOVERNMENT

EVERYWHERE among people who profess to be advanced in their civilization we find that there is considerable emphasis upon having an orderly government. In fact if we chose to evaluate the accomplishments of any group of people we should have to know something of the operation and the structure of their government. The details of the structure of government in the United States are somewhat different from those in other parts of the world but in order to understand how the citizen in a democracy really governs himself it will be valuable for us to know something of the structure of government.

Here in the United States as elsewhere the people have set up governmental machinery, with constitutions, laws, and officials, which, at the time of its creation at least, was suitable for the purposes for which it was intended. In this section of our book (Part II) we shall consider the framework around which our citizens have constructed the different aims of their government (Chapter 4). In additional chapters attention will be given to local (Chapter 5), state (Chapter 6), and federal (Chapter 7) governments. Finally, consideration will be given to the methods which are employed for raising revenue (Chapter 8) to support the operation of government.

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Chapter 4 CONSTITUTIONS AND CHARTERS

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To portray the need for charters and constitutions
- 2 To show how the federal Constitution developed
- 3 To explain the part charters and constitutions play in city and state governments.

THE American citizen demands an orderly government. One of the most precious of our fundamental notions is that we must have a "government of laws not of men." Of course we do not mean that laws will administer themselves. We know that men must frame them, interpret them, and enforce them. What we do mean is that all government action shall be based on law, it shall be orderly, and reasonably specific. In monarchies this was not always the case. The ruler frequently acted on whim alone, punishing this citizen and rewarding that one. The citizen in a democracy demands not only the right to rule himself, but the right to be governed according to laws, written laws, specific laws, and laws reasonably well understood.

Written Constitutions. In America we have gone farther than some other democracies in demanding written constitutions. We have a federal Constitution and each state has a written consti-

tution Cities ordinarily have charters, which are in reality constitutions under another name. We have been called "the greatest constitution writers on earth," and some people have claimed that we have put too great faith in these fundamental documents.

Some democratic countries have functioned without written constitutions, at least without a single, compact document such as we have. The most famous example is Great Britain. Lord Bryce, a keen British student of politics, says, "the British constitution, if there be one, is a mass of precedents carried in men's minds or recorded in writing, dicta of lawyers or statesmen, customs, usages, understandings, and beliefs, a number of statutes mixed up with customs, and all covered over with a parasitic growth of legal decisions and political habits." It does include some written documents which are quite fundamental, the Act of Union with Scotland and Ireland, the Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights. It also includes certain important laws enacted by Parliament from time to time. The British prefer, in general, this type of constitution and point to many unwritten features of our own federal Constitution to justify their position. But Americans, in a younger country, lacking much of the tradition and class distinctions of Great Britain, feel safer with a comprehensive, written document.

Early American Constitutions. The first constitutions in this country were the charters granted by the British government to companies or corporations. These were modelled after that of the British East India Company. The companies were formed to extract wealth from the new world. The first was granted in 1606 to a group of men "to dig, mine, and search for all manner of mines of gold, silver, and copper" in what is now Virginia. Incidentally they were empowered to set up a council to govern the colony. This charter was modified and later withdrawn with the result that Virginia was governed as a royal province.

In 1630 the king issued a charter to Massachusetts which gave the colony a fair amount of self-government. The people of Connecticut, lacking a formal charter from the king, set up a constitution of their own in 1639. In 1662 they received a charter which was so liberal that by changing the word "king" to "people" it served as a state constitution until 1818. Rhode Island's charter, granted in 1663, served, with slight changes, until 1842. It can be

seen that many of the colonists were well-accustomed to written constitutions long before 1787.

Articles of Confederation. The first constitution of the United States was not, in reality, the Constitution drawn up in 1787. The Articles of Confederation had been the fundamental law since 1781. These had been drafted in 1776, adopted by the Continental Congress in 1777, and gradually ratified by state after state. The chief features of the Articles were (1) equal voting strength of states in Congress, (2) the absence of an executive branch, and (3) the narrow limits of federal power. They failed to create a sufficiently strong federal government to cope with the problems of the period following the Revolutionary War. The country's debts remained unpaid with the interest piling up, disagreements existed between various states, and internal disorders flourished. A stronger central government began to be advocated. It would be interesting to know from whom came the demand for a stronger government. Evidence has been given by Professor Charles A. Beard,¹ a modern writer on the Constitution, that most of this movement came from men of property, shippers, merchants, and large landowners.

The Constitutional Convention. The Constitutional Convention began work on May 25, 1787, in Philadelphia. The work was finished on September 17. There were fifty-five delegates actually present. Some of them were men of considerable ability: Washington and Madison from Virginia, Franklin and Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, Alexander Hamilton from New York, John Dickinson from Delaware. Then there were Edmund Randolph, James Wilson, the two Pinckneys, Rufus King, Elbridge Gerry, and Luther Martin. Jefferson once called it "an assembly of demigods." However there were some men of mediocre ability and narrow vision.

In general the members were conservative. Lawyers predominated and almost all of them were of the propertied classes. They resided in the seaboard cities, not in the backwoods country. Forty of the fifty-five owned government bonds. Their interest in a strong federal government ran parallel to their own interests. At least fourteen were buying real estate for speculation. About half of them were engaged in lending money at interest. Fifteen were slave owners, while eleven of them owned shipping or trading busi-

¹ See *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*

nesses. All of them were substantial business or professional men of one sort or other. They, as responsible citizens, wanted a government which could pay its debts, enforce contracts, build improvements which would enhance the value of real estate, protect and promote its shipping and trade. Ogg and Ray¹ say that "five-sixths of their number had a practical personal concern in the outcome of their labors."

Not one represented the debtor class, the workers, or the small farmers. Not one of the members could be called "radical" in regard to democratic control. Patrick Henry, spokesman for the Revolution, refused to attend. Samuel Adams, "the firebrand of the Revolution," was not there, and neither was John Hancock. Jefferson was out of the country on a mission to France. Thomas Paine, the real radical of the time, was not a delegate. The result was that the Constitution as framed, although democratic in character, includes a large number of devices, checks and balances, to keep the forces of democracy under control. The indirect method of electing both Senators and the President, the presidential veto, and the bicameral Congress are all of this nature.

Compromises. When the Convention got down to work they were able to agree on their main task—the framing of a stronger federal government. But on many other matters there was disagreement. Should the states have equal voting strength in Congress as they had had under the Articles? This was compromised by making equal representation in the Senate (two from each state), and representation according to population in the House. Should Congress have power to control imports and exports? The northern states said "Yes" but the agricultural South (large exporter of tobacco and, later, cotton) objected. Finally Congress was given power over commerce, interstate and foreign, except that no tax could be levied on exports. Then there was the question of the slaves. Should they be counted in fixing the number of Representatives in the lower house? Could Congress forbid the importation of slaves under its power over commerce? The compromise was that three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in fixing representation. And the importation of slaves could not be prevented before 1808.

These and many other controversies were ironed out through

¹*Essentials of American Government*, (1933 ed.) p. 34.

the summer weeks of 1787. In September the document was finished Gouverneur Morris wrote out the final draft and thirty-nine members signed it. Three of the delegates present refused to sign. They and others, who had already gone home in disgust, hurried to oppose the ratification of the new document. The fight over ratification was waged in every state.

Ratification. A few states ratified very promptly—Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut. However an important weakness in the document soon appeared. There was no Bill of Rights! There was no specific guarantee of freedom of speech, of religion, of the press, of assembly. There was no guarantee of trial by jury, nor of the right not to be molested by the military, nor the right to be free from having one's property searched. Many citizens immediately protested. Why were these well-known guarantees omitted? They began to suspect the framers of the Constitution of an undemocratic bias. In New York and Massachusetts the back-country farmers began to protest. Finally this faction was appeased when it was agreed that the Bill of Rights would be embodied in a series of amendments to the Constitution. These are the first ten amendments. They were offered in 1789 and ratified in 1791.

The Constitution. The federal Constitution consists of seven articles and twenty-one amendments. The whole document can be printed on a dozen ordinary pages and can be read in twenty minutes. The first article deals with Congress, the second with the President, the third with the federal courts. The fourth and sixth deal with federal and state relationships. The fifth gives the methods of amending and the seventh is a sentence on ratification. The whole document is amazingly simple, logical, and short. Of course some of its provisions are not entirely clear. The Preamble, couched in general terms, announces as one purpose to "establish justice," and as another purpose to "promote the general welfare." Surely nothing could be broader than that. Some citizens would argue that the way to "establish justice" is to give all persons equal incomes while others might argue that it would "promote the general welfare" if the government owned and operated the coal mines and the railroads. Article I provides that "direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states" according to population. What are direct taxes? The experts in public finance are not yet agreed.

Then there is the famous "necessary and proper" clause, Article I, Section 8. This has been interpreted to authorize national banks, paper money, postal savings, and parcel post.

If every provision of the Constitution were mathematically clear and precise, the citizen would have no doubts as to the exact nature of his government. But if this were true, the document would not be flexible, for it has changed its meaning and scope steadily since 1789. It is a different document today from what it was in 1790, or in 1850, or even 1900. It will continue to change in the future.

There have obviously been a number of important economic and social changes since 1787. It is a mark of merit in our Constitution that it has been adaptable to these new conditions.

The changes in the Constitution have been made in three ways, (1) by usage, (2) by judicial interpretation, and (3) by amendment.

Growth by Usage. Many important phases of our federal government have grown up by custom. Sometimes these customs are sanctioned by act of Congress but sometimes they are not. For example, the Constitution does not provide for Congressional committees. These important agents in the government grew up by custom and were sanctioned by law. But neither the Constitution nor Congress has ever provided for cabinet meetings. Indeed the cabinet is not even mentioned in the Constitution. The same is true of our party system. A person who reads our Constitution would still be grossly ignorant of the way the President is actually elected. The party primaries, the national conventions, the party committees, and campaign funds have grown up wholly by custom. It has been said that "the United States is committed to the two-party system of government" but provision for it is not made in the Constitution or the statutes. There is no provision for "patronage" in any statute, nor for "senatorial courtesy," but they are both firmly entrenched in the practices of our federal government. It is not required by the Constitution or by law that a Representative in Congress live in the district from which he is elected. But custom provides that he shall.

Growth by Judicial Interpretation. The Supreme Court in 1803 assumed the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional.¹ Later the Court held that federal powers were to be liberally

¹ The case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, 1803.

constituted so as to add a number of "implied powers" to the federal government.¹ This power of the Court to approve or disapprove legislation is called "judicial review." Under it the court has approved a considerable number of powers not specifically granted by the Constitution. Some of these are (1) to establish national banks (1819), (2) to issue legal-tender paper money (1871), (3) extension of the "interstate commerce" clause to include telephone, telegraph, pipe lines, airplanes, radio broadcasting, and others. This extension started in 1824 and has continued through a long list of decisions. On the other hand the Court has voided some sixty acts of Congress, including (1) the fugitive slave law (1857), (2) the old income tax (1894),² (3) the child labor laws (1918, 1922), (4) the National Recovery Act, and the Railroad Pension Law (1935). In addition the Supreme Court has declared over 600 state laws unconstitutional.

Growth by Amendment. The first ten amendments were adopted in 1789 and ratified in 1791. They are the "bill of rights." The eleventh and twelfth were added soon thereafter. Then no more were added until after the Civil War when the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, the "slavery amendments," were adopted. Then came another lull until 1913 when the sixteenth, providing for a federal income tax, and the seventeenth, providing for the direct election of United States Senators, were ratified. The eighteenth, providing for prohibition, was ratified in 1919 and repealed by the twenty-first in 1933. The woman's suffrage amendment was adopted in 1920 and the "lame-duck amendment"³ in 1933.

An amendment may be proposed either by Congress (two-thirds vote in each house) or by a National Constitutional Convention called by Congress at the request of the states. The latter form has never been used. The amendment must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states or by special conventions in three-fourths of the states. The former plan has been used for every amendment except the twenty-first. Over 3,000 amendments to the federal Constitution have been proposed to Congress. Of

¹ The case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, 1819.

² Income taxation was later legalized by the sixteenth amendment.

³ The twentieth amendment changed the time for Congressional sessions and for inauguration of the President. Both take office sooner after their election than formerly. No longer will defeated members of Congress continue to legislate after their defeat. These were called "lame-ducks."

this number only twenty-seven have received the necessary two-thirds vote for proposal to the states. One of these which is still pending would give Congress power to regulate, limit, or prohibit the labor of children under eighteen years of age. Although twenty-five states rejected it within a year or two after it was proposed (1924) considerable interest in it has been shown since and some of the states reversed their earlier action by voting to ratify. At the time this is written, twenty-four states have ratified. Constitutional lawyers say that this presents a very interesting question. Can a state ratify an amendment after having once sent notice of its rejection? If so, inasmuch as there is no time limit on ratification, the amendment may be pending for years.

Evaluating the Constitution. The actual framers of the Constitution were quite skeptical in regard to its value. Franklin said

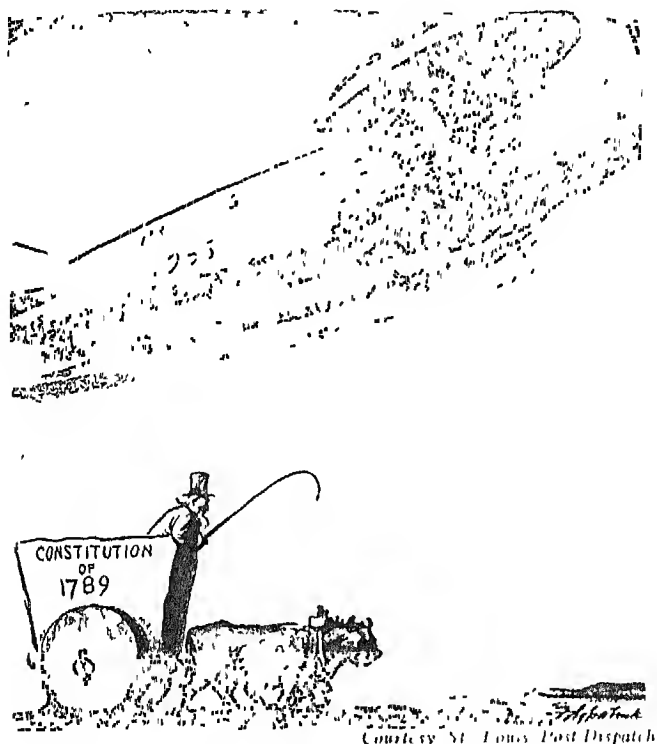
I confess that there are several parts of this Constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them.

I doubt, too, whether any other Convention we can obtain may be able to make a better constitution. For when you assemble a number of men to have the advantage of their joint wisdom you inevitably assemble with those men all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be obtained?

Gouverneur Morris urged that people "should take it with all its faults." Robert Morris expressed a fair view when he said of the Constitution, "while some have boasted it as a work from Heaven, others have given it a less righteous origin. I have many reasons to believe that it is the work of plain, honest men, and such, I think, it will appear."

After a century and a half we have come to admire more and more the relative simplicity of its provisions, the clarity of its style, and, most of all, the democratic system which it embodies. Of course there are many persons, most of them staunch supporters of orderly and democratic government, who have fretted at the limitations our Constitution has set up. It has prevented Congress from controlling child labor. It delayed for a generation the use of the income tax. It has hampered the satisfactory regulation of the railroads. It has imposed a number of restraints upon President Roosevelt's recovery program. What this amounts to, in some cases at least, is that the Constitution and the Courts have

prevented the people from doing, through Congress, the things which the people clearly wanted to do. This is not democratic. Once the Court has ruled an act unconstitutional the people sometimes undertake the arduous and slow task of amending the Constitution.



Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch

INVENTION HAS COMPLICATED THINGS

A cartoonist's conception of the need for constitutional reform

In the case of the income tax, this took almost twenty years (1804-1913). However the delay may be wise.

On the other hand there are people who glorify the Constitution and call it almost divine. The American Bar Association has urged every American citizen to declare, "The Constitution of the United States ought to be as actual a part of my life and my religion as the Sermon on the Mount." This would put it level with the teachings of Jesus, in fact with Jesus' own words. James M. Beck, in

his book on the *Constitution of the United States*, writes, "Thus the American Constitution is the most conspicuous and effective manifestation of a *higher law*"¹

A fair view of the Constitution by a citizen who makes it his business to study it thoughtfully seems to point toward at least four conclusions (1) it is excellently written, (2) it is perfectly adequate for a long time to come without any drastic alterations, (3) it is excellent, not only for the fine things it contains, but for other things which it leaves out, and (4) it is a dynamic, living organism meeting the demands of a democratic people in a changing world

State Constitutions. Each of the states has its own constitution. Most of the constitutions now in use are fairly recent in origin. A few have lasted through several generations, almost from Revolutionary times. While no two are precisely alike there are some features which are characteristic of the great majority of them. Most of them are very long. The constitution of Oklahoma is twelve times as long as our federal Constitution. State constitutions written during the last thirty years show a tendency toward greater and greater length. This is because these constitutions contain a great many specific provisions. A fair sample of the extent to which this practice is used is found in the following sections of the Illinois constitution.

ARTICLE XIII—WAREHOUSES

1. All elevators or storerooms where grain or other property is stored for a compensation, whether the property be kept separate or not, are declared to be public warehouses.

2. The owner, lessee or manager of each and every public warehouse situated in any town of not less than 100,000 inhabitants shall make weekly statements under oath, before some officer to be designated by law, and keep the same posted in some conspicuous place in the office of such warehouse, and shall also file a copy for public examination in such place as shall be designated by law, which statement shall correctly set forth the amount and grade of each and every kind of grain in such warehouse, together with such other property as may be stored therein, and what warehouse receipts have been issued, and are, at the time of making such statement, outstanding therefor, and shall, on the copy posted in the warehouse, note daily such changes as may be made in

¹ Page 21. Italics ours.

the quantity and grade of grain in such warehouse, and the different grades of grain shipped in separate lots shall not be mixed with inferior or superior grades without the consent of the owner or consignee thereof

There are five more sections in this article dealing with warehouses. It is to be noted that only one city in Illinois (Chicago, had a population of 100,000 when this was enacted and for sixty years thereafter. These provisions are not even proper subjects for state law; they should have been left for the Chicago city council.

Students of state constitutions do not approve of long constitutions, pointing out that they usually mean detailed provisions, which sometimes defeat the purposes of democratic government. For example, some states have been unable to reform their tax systems because their constitutions provide for "uniformity." Others have found it impossible to shorten their ballots.

State constitutions usually include (1) a bill of rights, (2) provisions for legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, (3) financial clauses, and (4) miscellaneous sections dealing with corporations, education, local governments, and amendments to the constitution. The provisions for amendment are of considerable importance. Frequently the requirements are too severe making it almost impossible to get an amendment through. Illinois requires a two-thirds vote in each house of the legislature and a popular vote *which is a majority of all persons voting in that election*. It also forbids the submission of more than one amendment at a time and, in addition, provides that no proposal can be made to change a particular article oftener than once in four years. The requirement of a majority of all *persons voting* is a provision which operates in at least half of the states. It has been a complete barrier to amending the constitution of Illinois in the last twenty-five years. During that time five amendments have been voted upon with the following results:

1916 Tax Amendment to Constitution

For	657, 298
Against	295, 782
Total vote on proposition	953, 080
Total vote in election	1, 343, 381
% Affirmative vote to total vote in election	71.85%

1924 "Gateway" Amendment¹

For	704,665
Against	397,835
Total vote on proposition	1,102,500
Total vote in election	2,579,707
% Affirmative vote to total vote in election	28 31%

1926 Tax Amendment

For	651,768
Against	476,455
Total vote on proposition	1,128,223
Total vote in election	1,912,710
% Affirmative vote to total vote in election	34 07%

1930 Tax Amendment

For	371,812
Against	513,861
Total vote on proposition	885,673
Total vote in election	2,332,606
% Affirmative vote to total vote in election	15 04%

1932 "Gateway" Amendment¹

For	1,080,541
Against	275,329
Total vote on proposition	1,355,870
Total vote in election	3,463,927
% Affirmative vote to total vote in election	31 19%

Here are four clear-cut cases out of the five voted upon, in which the voters apparently wanted to change their state constitution but because of the rigid provisions of the amending clause they could not do so. The indifference of many voters is, of course, also responsible. The evidence shows that this indifference is greater since women have begun to vote.

It is because of these and other circumstances, that state constitutions have never been surrounded by the same halo which many people attach to the federal Constitution. They are, of course, in the same way the work of citizens who want an orderly government.

City Charters. The basic law, or "constitution," of a city is its city charter. This document is granted by authority of the state legislature. It may be *general*, that is, the same charter is granted to all or most of the cities of the state, or it may be *special*, written specifically for the individual city. The latter practice has been all

¹To make it easier to change the constitution

too common in eastern and middle western states. It has had many undesirable results. It forces the state legislature to devote a large share of its time to municipal problems about which it is ill-informed. It costs the city effort and uncertainty in pleading its special cause. Frequently the special laws and charter amendments are actually harmful to the city. A general charter which is carefully drawn and which applies to all cities seems to be more successful. Moreover, if special provisions for certain cities seem desirable, there is a better way. Sometimes the charter is framed by a committee of the city itself and then merely submitted to the state government for approval. This is called *home rule*. It has been authorized in fourteen states.¹ Up to 1930 only one-third of the cities of 25,000 population or more had *home rule*.

Some charters are very short and simple, however that of New York City is a document of nearly 1,500 pages. What does the charter provide? Usually the charter includes (1) the clause declaring the city to be a legal corporation for local government, (2) a statement of the city's boundaries, (3) a list of city officials, terms, manner of selection, powers, and duties, (4) a statement of the powers and functions of the city. The important functions are: (1) Protection. This includes the work of the police, fire, and health departments. (2) Streets. Such important items as street-paving, the building of sidewalks, street-lighting, cleaning, and repair are included. (3) Utilities. The water and sewage systems, electricity, gas, telephones, street transportation, and sometimes such things as wharves, ice, and grain elevators are under city control. (4) Garbage and rubbish removal. (5) City planning and zoning. (6) Education. The public schools and public libraries of the city are maintained. (7) Charity services. (8) Recreation. This includes city parks, playgrounds, beaches, camp-grounds, and the like.

These charters also may be said to represent the demand of the citizens for an orderly government. The whole constitutional and legal structure is based upon this ranking:

Federal Constitution

Federal laws and treaties

State constitutions

¹Missouri, California, Washington, Minnesota, Colorado, Oregon, Oklahoma, Michigan, Arizona, Ohio, Nebraska, Texas, Maryland, New York.

ORDERLY GOVERNMENT

State laws

City charters

City ordinances, county ordinances, and other local rules.

No law or ordinance may violate any provision of a document of higher rank. For example, a city ordinance may not violate the city charter or a state law. Likewise a state law must not violate the federal Constitution.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 Why does the democratic citizen demand to be governed by law and not by men?
- 2 How does the Constitution of the United States differ from that of England?
- 3 Explain two of the early colonial constitutions.
- 4 What were the chief features of the Articles of Confederation? What were its defects?
- 5 What class of people prepared the federal Constitution? Why were they interested in a strong central government?
- 6 What compromises resulted from the controversies in the Constitutional Convention?
- 7 What important weaknesses were noticed in the Constitution when it was sent to the states for ratification? What group of people particularly protested? What was the result?
- 8 With what does each of the articles and amendments of the federal Constitution deal?
- 9 What are the advantages of having "vague" sections in the Constitution? Disadvantages?
- 10 In what three ways has the Constitution been changed? Explain each.
- 11 How has the attitude toward the Constitution changed since the days of its adoption? Is the attitude of "worship" held by some to be commended? Explain.
- 12 What are the chief provisions of most state constitutions?
- 13 What conditions often handicap the people in trying to amend state constitutions?
- 14 By what authority are city charters granted? Distinguish between *special* and *general* city charters.
- 15 What is meant by city *home rule*?
- 16 What are usually provided for in city charters? What are the chief functions of a city for which provisions are made in its charter?
- 17 Upon what ranking is our constitutional and legal structure based?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 What are the advantages of a written constitution? Of an unwritten one? Why do clubs, literary societies, student councils, and other school organizations often have constitutions?
- 2 What is the meaning of "unconstitutional"? Make a list of some important laws, state and federal, which have been declared unconstitutional.
- 3 Why was it wise to have some things omitted from the federal Constitution? Enumerate some and explain.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Examine a copy of your state constitution. How long is it? Does it have a bill of rights? How can it be amended?
- 2 How many constitutions has your state had? When was the present one written? Are there good reasons for rewriting the constitution of your state?
- 3 Study a copy of your city charter. Examine it with a view to mastering its general content. How does it take care of each of the four types of provisions suggested in this chapter as being found in most city charters?

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Chapter 5 LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To explain the complexities of local government
- 2 To show how cities, counties, and townships are governed
- 3 To present some of the problems facing these governments

THE most striking feature of local government in the United States is its complexity. About two-thirds of the people of this country live within the boundaries of a *city* or *village*. In most of the states they live in a *township*, or something similar called by a different name. They are also under a *county* government. They may live under one or more *school* governments, and a *drainage* district, and a *park* district, and several others.

The authors are residents of the United States, of the state of Illinois, of McLean County, of Normal Township, of the Town (village) of Normal, of the Bloomington-Normal Sanitary District, of grade-school district number 144, of high school district number 348, eight governments in all and every one has the right to levy taxes. If they lived in Chicago there would also be park districts of various sorts. This complexity is not only unfortunate for the student; it is costly to the taxpayer. One can hardly avoid living under at least six or seven different governments, each of which

can and does levy taxes. Some people live under as many as eleven or twelve. The citizen has demanded orderly governments. He has probably created too many different ones. But he needs to know what functions have been delegated to each one.

CITY GOVERNMENT

Large incorporated places are called cities. They may be defined as "large groups of people living in a compact area and governed under a city charter."¹ There are three or four thousand such places in the United States.

To be incorporated as a city requires a population of 200 in Kansas and 10,000 in New York. The average is about 2,500. This is the figure the Census Bureau has taken to distinguish between urban and rural communities. The number of such places is shown in the following table.

Year	Cities of 2,500 or More	Per Cent of Total Population
1890	1,447	35
1900	1,801	40
1910	2,311	46
1920	2,787	51
1930	3,165	56

Each of five cities, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Los Angeles, has over 1,000,000 people, a figure not reached by one-third of our states. Chicago's population of 3,376,438 exceeds that of thirty-eight of the states, and New York's 6,930,446 exceeds all but three of them.

The above figures are taken from the 1930 census for the population within the incorporated limits. Every city has a large number of suburbs and "satellite cities" which are economically and socially, although not politically, an integral part of the large city itself. People sometimes speak of "Greater New York" when they want to include all the territory within the metropolitan area. St. Louis has 48 smaller places within the metropolitan district. Los Angeles has 56, Philadelphia 92, and Chicago 115.² The possibility of setting

¹Mumio, *American Government Today*, p. 485.

²*Recent Social Trends*, p. 118.

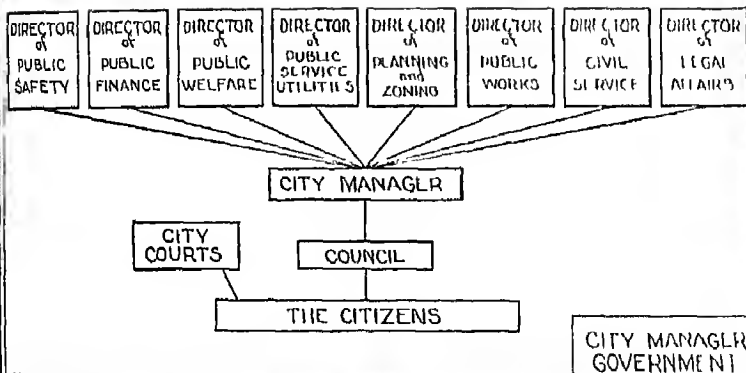
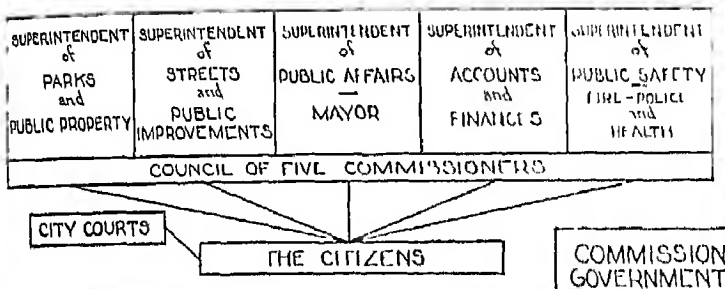
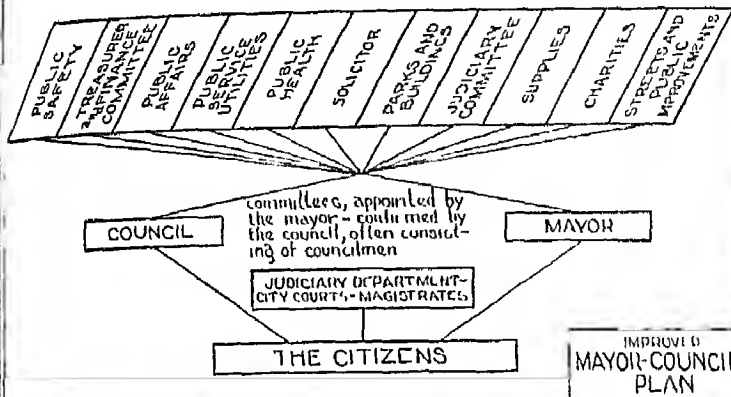
these great metropolitan areas free to form states is discussed in a later chapter (see Chapter 17)

Forms of City Government Most cities are governed under the *mayor-council plan* in which the voters elect an alderman (or two) from each *ward*. These aldermen form the city council. The Mayor presides at their meetings, makes appointments, and acts as the chief executive of the city. This form is based upon the principle of separation of power into legislative (the council), executive (the Mayor and departments), and judicial (the city courts), similar to that of the federal government. It is also true that the council plan provides representation for all sections of the city. However, one objection to the mayor-council plan is that the aldermen represent their wards rather than the whole city. Another criticism is that the scheme does not fasten responsibility on any one official. A citizen with a grievance goes to the Mayor, the Mayor sends him to the head of a department, the department head blames the council for not appropriating enough funds, the councilmen blame each other and the Mayor. Nowhere is there a well-defined responsibility. This form prevails in the vast majority of American cities. However, because of these and other objections to the mayor-council plan, two new forms of city government have recently been developed.

The first of these is the *commission plan* which has existed since early in the twentieth century. Under this plan the voters choose five commissioners, elected from the city-at-large. Together they form the city council. But each also acts as the head of an administrative department. The Mayor becomes commissioner of public affairs, for example, and the other four head the departments of public safety, public property, streets, and finance. This form has improved the government of many small and middle sized cities, especially because it concentrates responsibility on a few men. Its chief drawback lies in the fact that the commissioners often have no training for the work of their department. Frequently the department assignments are made after the election. A study of the commissioners of Topeka, Kansas, revealed that the water commissioner was a barber by trade, the commissioner of streets was a house mover, and the commissioner of parks and public buildings was a "club" reporter.¹ About 400 cities have

¹ Bruere, Henry, *The New City Government*, p. 92

FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENTS



adopted this form, including New Orleans, Newark, Jersey City, Portland, St. Paul, Omaha, Memphis, San Antonio, Houston, and Des Moines.

The newest form of city government is the *city manager plan*. Its character and growth will be discussed later in this chapter under the topic Improving City Government. It calls for the election of a small council of usually five or seven members.

City Elections. Once every year or two the voters of the city go to the polls to choose their officials. In addition to the Mayor and council (or commissioners), the voters often elect a city clerk, city treasurer, city judge, police magistrate, city attorney, and others. There are too many of these elected and they receive scant attention from the voters. Almost any move to decrease the number of elected officials is a move in the right direction.

In order to keep city elections from being dragged along the tail-end of national and state politics, they are usually held on a different date. Since the national elections come in November of the even numbered years many city elections are held in the spring of the odd numbered years. This method is more expensive and leads to more non-voting. In Chicago only 1,052,446 votes were cast in the city election of 1935, while 1,423,074 were cast in the national election of 1932. Nevertheless in the interest of a short ballot and intelligent voting the practice of separate elections seems to be better.

City Ordinances. City laws or ordinances are enacted by the city council in accordance with the provisions of the charter. These cover a great variety of subjects embracing all of the functions named above. An important ordinance is the annual *appropriation* for the work of the various departments of city government and the *fixing of the tax rate* to supply the money appropriated. There is also the granting of *franchises* and *licenses* to do certain types of business, such as liquor dealing, employment agencies, and peddling. Much of this work is done through committees subject to the approval of the whole council. The council through its ordinances frames the policies of the city and plays a large role in determining whether the city shall have good or bad government.

City Administration. The Mayor, the other elected officials, and all the department heads and their subordinates appointed by the Mayor have the responsibility for enforcing and administering the

law and carrying out the policies set up by the council. Unfortunately many cities allow political considerations rather than merit to determine these appointments. All too often this results in inefficient administration. This is sometimes true in the police, in the inspection services, in the awarding of contracts, in the sewage system, even in the schools and the charitable services. Some cities have found a remedy. It is in the use of a civil service system. Appointments are made upon merit and subordinates are not removable except for good cause. This system, coupled with good pay, prospects for promotion, and a pension system almost always has increased the efficiency and the morale of city employees. This has been done successfully in many cities in Massachusetts. For some years a state civil commission has examined and certified prospective employees of the cities.

An incident occurred in 1931 in the city of Danville, Illinois, which illustrates the value of the civil service system for firemen. In 1929-1930 Danville maintained an efficient fire department and had a per capita fire loss of only \$1.26. An incoming Mayor replaced thirty-six of the forty-three experienced firemen with new appointees. J. W. Just, of the state fire marshals' office, warned them "that unless they corrected this condition, their fire loss would be multiplied four times." He was wrong. It was multiplied *eight* times and the next year the per capita fire loss was \$10.56. This caused a general increase in fire insurance rates.

A considerable role in law enforcement is played by the courts. While most major offences are tried in county and circuit courts, the municipal and police courts are of some importance. A few cities have organized special courts for special kinds of offenders and have employed experts to improve the judicial process. But in most cities the courts have failed to function satisfactorily. Much of the criticism which has been directed at our inefficient police must be shared by the local courts. They have often been in the hands of incompetent men and, if not, they have been hampered by antiquated court procedure.¹

City Politics Standing back of city government and "pulling the strings" which make appointments, award contracts, and shape policies, there is usually a party organization. Frequently there are some party bosses. With a complete organization from the ward

¹For a more complete account of the activity of the courts see Chapter 9.

"heelers" and precinct committeemen up to the central committee of the party, they exercise an important and sometimes sinister influence. They back their own "slate" in the party primary, make "deals" with other factions and even with the other parties, and pay themselves and their supporters by good appointments, fat contracts, and the like. Hardly any great city has escaped this control. New York has had Tammany and various party groups opposed to Tammany. Chicago has had Lundin, Thompson, Sullivan, Brennan, and others. Philadelphia has had the Vares. In any number of cities there has been an alliance between corrupt politics, crime and vice, dishonest police, and crooked business. The following is a description of the boss of Cincinnati as Lincoln Steffens found him about 1905.¹

When I went to Cincinnati from Cleveland I knew the conditions there, what was what and who was who, and early in my first morning, before eight o'clock, I sought out Boss Cox. His office was over his "Mecca" saloon, in a mean little front hall room one flight up. The door was open. I saw a great hulk of a man, sitting there alone, his back to the door, his feet up on the window sill, he was reading a newspaper. I knocked, no response. I walked in, he did not look up.

"Mr. Cox?" I said.

An affirmative grunt.

"Mr. Cox, I understand that you are the boss of Cincinnati."

Slowly his feet came down, one by one. They slowly walked his chair around, and a stolid face turned to let two dark, sharp eyes study me. While they measured, I gave my name and explained that I was "a student of politics, corrupt politics, and bosses." I repeated that I had heard he was the boss of Cincinnati. "Are you?" I asked.

"I am," he grumbled in his hoarse, throaty voice.

"Of course, you have a mayor, and a council, and judges?"

"I have," he admitted, "but"—he pointed with his thumb back over his shoulder to the desk—"I have a telephone, too."

"And you have citizens, too, in your city? American men and women?"

He stared a long moment, silent, then turned heavily around back to his paper. That short interview was a summary of the truth about Cincinnati, a rather cultivated city of kindly people, descendants of pioneers, New Englanders, southerners, and Germans, dominated by a dictatorship, which they actually feared and which did not fear them—and which did sell them out—to their knowledge. Everybody had tales to tell of this literal tyranny and of shameful graft, both of politics and

¹ *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, pp. 483-484, 486-487. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace & Company.

business, of the schools and of the courts, but there were only a few individuals who dared to tell you then stories. Elliot H. Pendleton, ex-Judge Rufus B. Smith, one newspaper editor, and a dozen other men. And excepting only Pendleton, these did not like to be seen with me and instinctively whispered when they told their facts. Cox's Republican machine, which was in open partnership with the Democratic machine, kept lists of voters, watched them, 'had things on them', and it punished—actually, it hurt your business. But also it could and it did help your business if you "went along."

What kind of machine did he have? That was the question I kept before us. There was graft, of course—every city had graft, and there was politics, and business, but how was the graft, politics, and business done, from the graft point of view, from the aesthetic point of view? Was it smoothly, cleverly done, or was it rough, blundering, and loud? He was fascinated by descriptions of other machines. He hated comparisons with his, but just the same he admired my admiration for them when they were "good," as in Philadelphia. What he wanted from me was a judgment with praise of his "system," and I withheld that till the day I was quitting Cincinnati and had called to take leave of Mr. Cox.

"Well, and what do you think of it?" he asked, referring of course to his machine.

"Pretty good," I said.

"Pretty—" He was too disgusted to finish. "Best you ever saw?"

"Well, I can't tell," I said. "My criterion for a graft organization is how few divide the graft. How many divide it here?"

"Ain't no graft," he grumbled.

"Then it's a mighty poor thing."

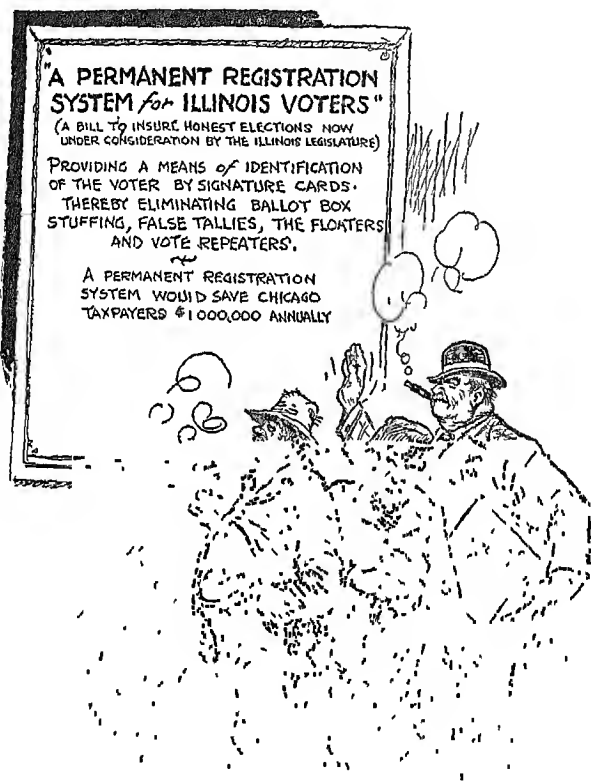
He pondered a moment, then. "How many do you say divides up here?"

"Three at least," I said. "You and Garry Hermann and Rud Hymnke."

"Ugh!" he grunted scornfully, and wagging one finger slowly before my face, he said, "There's only one divides up here."

Not true, this, not exactly. Cox wasn't lying. He was getting old and vain and was boasting a bit. He meant, as I meant, that he, or he and his two lieutenants, controlled and cut the political graft, which others received shares of as he directed. Cox probably did decide how much each participant received, his statement made me believe that he had the final say even over Hermann and Hymnke. And Cox was going into the banking and other business, too. He was rich and he was very powerful in business as well as politics. And he was right about his machine and its methods, they had been, it seemed to me, about the most perfect organization of the sort that I had seen or heard of.

A revealing picture of the misgovernment of New York City by Tammany Hall was drawn by the Hofstadter Committee of Inquiry in 1932. Hundreds of instances of graft were laid before the committee by Judge Samuel Seabury, in charge of the investigation. Some of these involved city officials, some involved the



"WE'RE AGIN IT!"

officers of the county. There was Sheriff Thomas M. Farley whose salary for seven years totalled less than \$90,000 but who deposited in various banks the sum of \$360,000. Farley explained that the money came to him in a tin box, "a wonderful tin box," which never seemed to empty of cash. He was removed from office by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. There was also James A.

McQuade, Register of the County, who deposited \$510,000 on a salary of \$47,000. He testified that he "borrowed a great deal of money to support his family."

A former Deputy Fire Commissioner, Charles W. Cushman, deposited nearly \$2,000,000 in his personal account during the same seven years. He refused to explain to the Committee where he received these amounts, but the investigators showed that he was president of a company which sold electric light bulbs to office buildings and tenements. It was claimed that buildings which bought his light bulbs were all approved by the fire inspectors. Other buildings were sometimes cited as violators of the fire laws. The city clerk of New York and the chief clerk of the city court were also found to have large bank accounts which they were not able to explain adequately.

While every citizen should know of the notable examples of misgovernment which have sometimes occurred in the cities of this country, and should be always aware of the danger of corruption entering into the government of his own city, he should not lose sight of the fact that there are many well-governed cities in the United States. Some have attained a standard of honest public service which deserves the highest possible praise. All of the cities mentioned above as having experienced corrupt government, Cincinnati, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, have also had periods of high grade administration. Sometimes city government is neither corrupt nor exceptionally fine. However it is generally held by students of political science that the greatest improvements in government in the last fifty years have been made in American cities.

Improving City Government. The amazing growth of cities is one of the chief facts in American history. Growing rapidly, sprawling over their boundaries, making obsolete their governmental forms, it is no wonder that they often became notorious. Lord Bryce found them to be the chief breakdown in American democracy. Nowhere has reform been more important. Some of the proposed remedies are now described.

(1) *Manager-government.* Starting in 1908, this form of government has spread to more than 125 cities. This includes about one-fourth of the cities of over 25,000 population in the country. Some of these are

ORDERLY GOVERNMENT

City	Population
Cincinnati, Ohio	451,160
Rochester, New York	328,132
Dallas, Texas	260,475
Grand Rapids, Michigan	168,592
Long Beach, California	142,032
Miami, Florida	110,637

There are also a number of small cities which use this form

City	Population
Winnetka, Illinois	12,166
Boulder, Colorado	11,223
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida	8,666
Petoskey, Michigan	5,740
Oberlin, Ohio	4,292
Kenilworth, Illinois	2,501

It will be seen that the manager form is used by all sizes of cities and in all parts of the country. It has grown since 1920 more rapidly than any other form of government. Under this plan the voters elect a small council, usually five to seven members. This body enacts all ordinances and determines all policies. Its chief task is, however, the selection of the *manager*. Ideally they select a capable executive, sometimes trained in engineering and finance, preferably from another city, and often having had experience as manager of a smaller city. For example the manager of Staunton, Virginia, was hired by Springfield, Ohio, then by Norfolk, Virginia, then by Stockton, California. His salary rose from \$2,500 to \$6,000, then \$12,000, and finally \$20,000 at Stockton. The city manager holds office as long as his work is good. His salary is relatively high and is increased from time to time if his record is good. He appoints all city officials, though usually through a civil service plan applying to all except department heads. He assumes complete responsibility for all administration. This centralization of authority in his hands is the chief advantage of this plan. But there are other advantages. The manager can give the city expert administration, and the council expert advice. These positions bid fair to become a profession of high standing. Already such institutions as the University of Michigan, the University of California, Stanford University, Syracuse University, and the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College offer courses of study in City-Management. The four hundred managers in the field have or-

ganized themselves into a City Managers' Association for research and mutual advancement. So the city gains in two ways, by the greater simplicity and responsibility of its government, and by the greater amount of expert advice it obtains. The use of the manager plan also produces considerable financial savings to the city. Cities which have used the manager plan have usually avoided deficits, eliminated or reduced their bonded debts, and have generally decreased their tax rates.

(2) *Election Reforms*. An important municipal election reform is the *short ballot*. There have been ballots used that were fourteen feet long and contained 500 names.¹ In some places in Illinois the voter is called upon to fill as many as seventy offices in a single election. The ballots in presidential years have frequently been compared in size to blankets and bed-sheets. Rarely can a voter even unfold one within the narrow voting booth. Aside from the inconvenience the chief evil resulting from the long ballot is blind voting. Even the most intelligent and well-informed voter can know of only a few of the candidates. Attention is centered on the most conspicuous offices, President, Senator, Governor, sheriff, and Mayor. Many others of vital importance in good government are neglected. Less discriminating voters vote for the great majority of offices blindly.

Besides blind voting, there is also a tremendous impetus given, in our system, to voting the straight party ticket. "If in doubt vote Republican," or "If in doubt—vote Democratic" are the slogans of most voters. And they are frequently in doubt. Of course most American ballots use the party-column arrangement which encourages party voting. But it will probably be difficult, if not unwise, to change the party-column plan until we drastically shorten the ballot.

This can be done in two ways. The most important is through reducing the number of elective officers. Cities that still elect a Mayor, two or more aldermen from each ward, city clerk, treasurer, comptroller, engineer, park commissioners, as many as thirty judges, court clerks, and various other special officers are most in need of reform. Some cities in Texas even elect a "public weigher" and a "hide and animal inspector." The advocates of the short ballot claim that the only city officials which need be elected are

¹ The Democratic Primary of March 26, 1912, in New York City.

ORDERLY GOVERNMENT

(1) the city council (under the manager plan), or the Mayor and council (if under the other plans), and (2) judges. Some even advocate that judges should be appointed as all federal judges are at present¹

The second change that would clarify and simplify the election process is the move to separate elections. In an ideal short ballot plan it might be possible to have all elections (except primaries) on the same day with a four year cycle something like this

First Year (1941)	Second Year (1942)	Third Year (1943)	Fourth Year (1944)
Governor Term 4 years	Congressmen Representatives Term 2 years	Judges Term 4 years or longer	President Term 4 years
State Legislators Term 4 years	Senators Term 6 years		Vice President Term 4 years
County Commissioners Term 4 years	City Council Term 4 years		Congressmen Representatives Term 2 years
			Senators Term 6 years

The Governor would appoint all state officials, the higher officials with the consent of the state Senate, and all the rest through civil service. The county commissioners would choose a county manager and assist him in the selection of all other county officials. It is assumed that the work of miscellaneous local governments, school districts, townships, and park districts would either be consolidated with the county and city or that the officers of these units would not be elected. This scheme would reduce the number of offices to be filled by each voter to the following

First year	5-12 offices
Second year	5-11 offices
Third year	3-25 offices
Fourth year	4- 6 offices
Total in 4 years	17-54 offices

¹ Of course the cities are not entirely to blame for the long ballot. The total number of elective offices in the United States has been estimated as about 830,000 divided as follows: federal officers 531, state officers 10,000, county officers 54,000, city officers 66,000, miscellaneous, town, rural, and school officers 700,000. Merriam and Gosnell, *The American Party System*, p. 243. Illinois alone elects 49,000 school board members, more board members than teachers.

The short ballot is the rule at present in many democratic countries. In England the ballot never includes more than three offices, usually only one. It is said that a Swiss would have to live 100 years to vote on as many offices as voters in the United States select in one day.

Some forty cities use *preferential voting*. In this the voter expresses his second and third choices of candidates for each office. If no candidate has a majority of first choices, the second choices are also counted and so on. This prevents a minority candidate from winning in a three- or four-cornered race. Preferences are also expressed in voting under *proportional representation*. The purpose of this is to give fair representation to all groups in the city. This is done by determining a quota for the office, which is the number of votes cast divided by the number of places to be filled, and successively counting preferences until this quota is filled. Cincinnati, Ohio, is the largest city to use this plan.¹

Another group of election reforms used in a few cities consists of giving the voters more direct control of government. These are the *initiative*, the *referendum*, and the *recall*. They have been described in Chapter 1. Do they have a place in orderly government? This question is far from settled. The general indifference of voters on referred questions has been shown in Chapter 4. The ballot is already too long. Should the voter have the extra burden of voting on laws? It seems that careful election of officials in the first place would make these devices unnecessary. But the threat of them, in the cities where they are used, has no doubt done some good.

(3) *Planning*. The outstanding case of a large city in America that was carefully and intelligently planned is Washington, D. C. Here the forethought of Washington and Jefferson, and the skill of the French engineer, L'Enfant, created a masterpiece. Her beauty and efficiency combine. The civic centers, the radial street plan, the terminal facilities, all form a model of good planning.

Most cities have not been so fortunate. The result has been narrow and poorly laid out streets, with dangerous crossings and badly congested areas. Many are poorly named and the houses are badly numbered. Some have no available locations for public buildings. They lack terminal facilities, union railroad stations, and good

¹For an excellent analysis of the details of proportional representation see Reed, Thomas H., *Municipal Government in the United States*, Chapter 13.

wharves. These and many other defects could have been prevented by planning. Although much of the damage has already been done, cities can do much good in guiding their future growth by the adoption of planning.

Planning involves an accurate knowledge of the city's present situation as well as considerable foresight into its future. It involves improving the city's streets, widening, straightening, and extending them. New boulevards must often be built, as in Chicago's fine Outer Drive. Utility services, particularly water and sewage, must be carefully considered. If economically possible, places for public buildings should be found and a long-time program of railroad co-ordination carried on. Space must be allowed for parks and playgrounds. The city plan should include *zoning*. Zoning consists of blocking off certain areas of the city for (a) single-family houses, (b) apartments, (c) retail stores and light industrial plants, (d) wholesale houses and heavy industrial plants, (e) public buildings, schools, hospitals, and so forth. The usual method of achieving these ends is by creating a planning commission. The number of cities which have done this has increased as follows:

1914	17 cities
1922	224 cities
1926	385 cities
1930	750 cities

This includes eleven of the thirteen cities of 500,000 or more in population and three-fourths of all cities over 25,000. In addition some 250 other cities have adopted zoning ordinances. Notable work in planning has already been done in many cities. Chicago has improved her boulevards and her lake front. The clusters of public buildings in Jackson, Grant, and Lincoln parks, and the fine boulevards connecting them are matters of just pride. Philadelphia has constructed the beautiful Fairmount Parkway along which many public buildings are located. New York and San Francisco have done excellent work in improving their harbors. Many small cities have set about the task of planning in the same spirit and have done worth-while things. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, has improved its river front. Jefferson City, Missouri, has an extensive park and parkway development centering around the state capitol building. Kenosha, Wisconsin, has built parks and eliminated grade

crossings East St. Louis, Illinois, made two and a half square miles of swamp into an attractive park. Many of these projects do not involve any additional expense to the city.

(4) *Increased Use of Experts* Much improvement has recently been made in the government of some cities. This in a large measure has grown out of the use of more experts. The manager and the secretary of the planning commission are for the most part trained men. A careful study of more than 600 city managers during 1931, 1932, and 1933 revealed the following:

The average or "typical" city manager graduated from high school and attended college to study some branch of engineering. He engaged in some engineering work after leaving college and he had held one or more public positions other than managership, usually an administrative post such as department head. He held a public position when he received his first appointment as city manager, at the age of thirty-seven. He was likely a resident of the city when appointed city manager, but if appointed previous to 1930 he was more than likely an out-of-town man. He has served as city manager for five years and eight months, including all cities served, and he has been in his present position four years and nine months. He is married and is now forty-seven years old. He is a member of the International City Managers' Association and holds membership in local civic organizations. In addition to *Public Management*, he subscribes to three other professional or technical journals. If his working day consists of eight hours, a hard day for a city manager, the average manager spends two hours interviewing callers, one and one-half hours in planning present activities and future work, one and one-half hours in holding conferences with department heads or attending council meetings, one and one-half hour making outside inspections of municipal activities, fifty minutes in preparing official reports, and forty minutes in handling correspondence.¹

This is expert work but the manager is not the only expert which the city might employ. The finance officer, the director of public works, the health officer, and every responsible administrator should be well-trained. An expert, impartial service which operates to aid cities and public officials is Public Administration Service, 850 East Fifty-eighth Street, Chicago, Illinois, a corporation not for profit. Although this body was only established in July, 1933, it has already aided fifty or sixty cities.

The judges of the special courts described above also tend to become expert. Some cities have hired trained police officials.

¹Ridley, Clarence F., and Nolting, Orrin F., *The City-Manager Profession*, pp. 82-83. Reprinted by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

Psychiatrists and trained probation officers have been successfully employed in the handling of criminals. Engineers, accountants, educators, health experts, and trained social workers have been profitably used. So much of the work of the city calls for training that this increased use of experts seems to be desirable beyond any debate.

Villages. Small incorporated places are called villages, towns, and boroughs. They do not exist in most of New England, where the township unit performs their functions. They generally have a minimum population of 200 or 300 persons. When their population reaches 2,000 or 3,000 they frequently exchange their village charter for a city charter.¹ Their chief officers are the council (or the board of trustees), the Mayor (or president of the board of trustees), clerk, treasurer, and miscellaneous police officers. The chief functions are providing police and fire protection, schools, water, sewers, streets, lighting, and other necessary services. They actually perform the same functions as do cities except on a smaller scale.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT

Another subdivision of a state is the county. Counties exist in all the states.² They vary in area from San Bernardino County, California, which covers 20,175 square miles, to New York County, New York, which covers only 22. They vary in population from Cook County, Illinois, with nearly 4,000,000 persons to Loving County, Texas, with 195. States differ in the number of counties; Delaware has 3 while Texas has 254. All told there are more than 3,000 in the United States. Many facts in regard to population and possibilities of consolidation are given in Chapter 17.

County Laws. County laws are passed by the *county board*, a body composed of commissioners or supervisors. The more common of the two forms is the practice of having a small board of county commissioners with three or five members. In New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, and most counties in New York and Illinois, a second form is used. Here the township supervisors, and populous

¹ Some prefer to remain villages. Oak Park, Illinois, with a population of 63,982 is still legally a village, Norristown, Pennsylvania, is a borough of 35,853.

² In Louisiana they are called parishes.

townships are often given several supervisors, meet to form a county board of from fifteen to fifty members. In both forms the county board serves as a county legislature.

In most states this does not mean a great deal. The counties in many states are often given very little power, and the little given is hedged about by state laws. For example, one of the chief functions of the county board is to manage the county finances. But the state legislature or the state constitution usually sets the maximum tax rate, the maximum indebtedness, and the salaries of various county officers. Some states occasionally grant their counties quite a little power. Or they may grant authority only to those counties that contain large cities. But the general rule is to the contrary.

The county boards meet once or twice a month for law-making purposes and the sessions seldom last more than a day. The laws which they pass deal with (1) finances, (2) highways, which of course includes only county roads, not state road, township roads, or village and city streets, (3) poor relief, such as old people's homes and county poor farms, and (4) the supervision of other county property. Most counties have a court house and a jail. A few of them have parks and forest preserves. The county board sometimes regulates dance halls, saloons, and the like if these are located outside the limits of any city. Sometimes it chooses minor county officials although most of these are elected directly by the people.

It would be a mistake to assume, however, that the county board is not important in bringing good or bad government. No matter how limited their powers, it is important that they be well handled. Some county boards, especially those in populous counties, have obtained special powers from the state and have done fine things. What Westchester County, New York, has done in recreation will be described in Chapter 11. Some seven counties in the states of California, Nebraska, Virginia, and North Carolina have hired county managers. A number of counties have voted to put most of the county employees under the civil service system.

County Law Enforcement A very important county officer is the sheriff. He is charged with the keeping of the peace, the suppression of riots, the apprehension of law-breakers, and the guarding of prisoners. He is actually more than a county officer; he is a *state official* because he enforces state laws. This includes almost all of the serious crimes, usually classed as felonies. In addition he

can usually ask the Governor to send state troops in emergencies, such as riots, violent labor troubles, and lynchings. In some states he can be removed only by the Governor. He usually has a number of deputies.¹

The state's attorney, district attorney, county attorney, or public prosecutor, as he is variously named, has the important function of seeing that crimes are punished. He guides the grand jury in its work of making *indictments*, or accusations, of persons against whom he has evidence. He prepares the case for the people against the indicted *defendant*. He lays this case before the judge and jury and asks for *conviction*. It is easy to see that if he is lazy, complacent, or dishonest, crime will flourish unchecked, if he is energetic and capable he can do much to preserve peace and justice.

Judges. We have already seen that villages and cities have city courts, police courts, and similar small courts. Of much greater importance are the courts of the county. These are called county courts, circuit courts, district courts, common pleas courts, or sometimes superior courts. But, whatever the name, these courts have *original jurisdiction* in most of the important criminal, civil, and equity cases. The judges are thus of considerable importance.

The judge presides over all trials and applies the rules of law to the facts presented. He sees that the trial is conducted in accordance with legal procedures. This means that he must constantly "rule in" and "rule out" evidence and thus decide what the jury is permitted to hear. These important persons are almost always elected by popular vote for terms of office of varying length.

Many counties have a *probate* judge to preside over a separate probate court. This court's jurisdiction is limited to cases which arise over the settlement of estates. This work is often technical in character and would be handled best by an expert judge. But the common method of popular election does not usually secure this. Only the larger counties have enough work of this sort to justify a special court.

Other County Officers. There are many other county officers, the exact number and titles varying greatly from state to state. Some which are quite common are

(1) *Coroner*. It is the duty of the coroner to hold an investiga-

¹ The office usually pays well. In McLean County, Illinois, there were seventeen Republican and Democratic candidates for the office in 1934.

tion (an *inquest*) into all accidental and violent deaths and any others in which there is some suspicion of crime. The usual method is by the calling of a small coroner's jury which hears witnesses and renders a verdict. The jury may order persons suspected of having caused the death to be held until the next meeting of the grand jury. There is a movement to abolish this office and in its place appoint a county physician to report the cause of death and turn over any evidence of crime to the state's attorney. This plan has been used by Massachusetts for a long time.

(2) *Clerk*. About half the states have county clerks, and the others have clerks of the county court. A few have both. Their duties are to keep the records of the county board, to issue licenses, and to record court proceedings. Some states have also clerks of the circuit court. Some have probate clerks and about half have a registrar or recorder of deeds and mortgages. To make matters worse almost always these officers are popularly elected. Yet the duties are expert in nature. These offices should be filled on a merit basis. The whole system needs to be overhauled and simplified.

(3) *Treasurer*. This officer usually collects all property taxes in the county. In some states he supervises the township assessors. He also disburses all county funds as ordered by state law or by the county board. As will be seen in Chapter 8, some states provide for county assessors.

(4) *Auditor*. About half the states provide a county auditor. Some states provide that this work in the larger counties be done by a controller. In the others the auditing is done by a committee of the county board.

(5) *Surveyor*. Almost all of the states have a county surveyor. Although his work is technical in every sense he is almost always elected by the people.

(6) *Superintendent of Schools*. This officer, where he exists, usually confines his supervision to the rural schools, leaving the city school officials to manage the schools. He usually has some other duties in regard to the certification of teachers and the distribution of state school funds.

Improving County Government. In 1917 a book was written on county government entitled *The County; the Dark Continent in American Politics*.¹ Complex, cumbersome, and inefficient, the task

¹The author was H. S. Gilbertson.

of improving its government is a challenge. Much opposition to reform has arisen out of misguided local pride. Counties must not merge, we are told, or some town will no longer be a county seat. The office of probate clerk must not be abolished or the local aspirants to job-holding will be outraged. Yet reform needs to come.

(1) *Short Ballot* The number of elective offices needs to be reduced. We have seen this to be true in cities. It is also the case in counties and states. The county board should generally be reduced in size to three or five members elected-at-large. Clerks, treasurers, auditors, surveyors, superintendents of schools, assessors, registrars, and perhaps others should be appointed, not elected. Some offices might be eliminated. These changes would make it again possible for a voter to know the men for whom he votes. It would lead to more responsible, efficient administration.

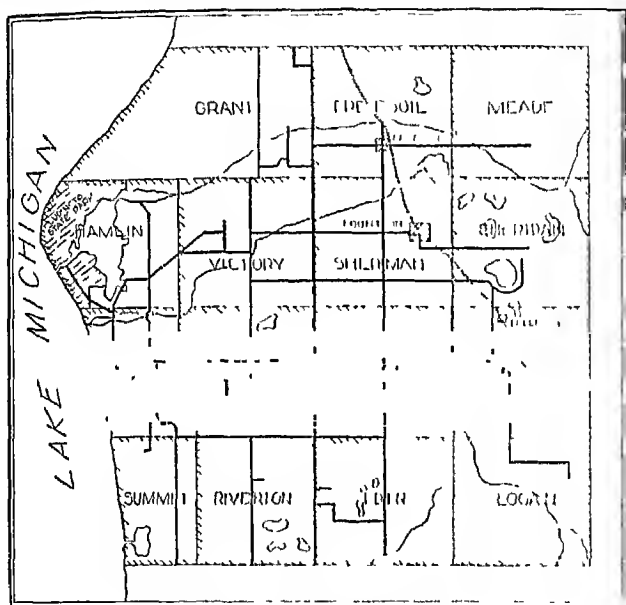
(2) *Civil Service* The use of the merit system for the selection of county employees, other than those elected, should be used. Only a few counties do this at present. Many counties "pad" their payrolls with political appointees. Around election time, especially, men are added to the payroll as "experts" or "deputy bailiffs" and get as high as \$20 to \$100 a day. In reality they spend their time electioneering. It is estimated that the padding of payrolls runs as high as \$1,000,000 a year in Cook County, Illinois. The results are always bad. Here again we can never hope to obtain expert public servants unless we choose them for their expertness. Once chosen they should have protected tenure, promotion on ability, and a pension system for old age.

(3) *County-State Relationships* The whole problem of county reform is intimately connected with state reform as a whole and reform of other local governments. After all, the state constitution and the state legislature really establish the counties and set the limits and methods of county government. In some states the counties are given added powers. For example, in some southern states they are the usual school unit, in other states they have taken the place of townships in assessing taxes. But there are some states which are going a step further in centralizing authority and giving former county powers to the state itself. Thus North Carolina has removed schools and roads from county control and put the state in charge of these two. The state decides all policies, provides all funds, and merely uses the county to help carry out its desires. This leaves the county's future in great uncertainty. If the trend toward cen-

tialization continues the county is likely to increase in power in most states as the townships decline in importance. Then the county, too, may decline if the state decides to take greater responsibility. In any case it needs to become orderly and efficient.

TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT

The township is a subdivision of a county which is found in the central group of states, chiefly northern, extending from New



MASON COUNTY, MICHIGAN

Showing the six-mile square Congressional township common in the Middle West. Note that physical features cause some of the townships to deviate from the standard size.

York to North Dakota. In New England, under the name "towns," they are even more important and powerful, in some cases assuming functions such as building pavements, sewers, libraries, hospitals, and parks, which in other sections are reserved for the city. In the South and West, townships, if they exist at all, are much less important. The township serves as an election district with other miscellaneous functions. The practice varies greatly from section to

section and from state to state. Even in Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska not all of the counties have townships

The usual officers of the township are (1) supervisors, also called trustees, selectmen, or chaumen, (2) township clerks, (3) treasurers, (4) highway commissioners, or road supervisors, (5) tax assessors, (6) justices of the peace, (7) constables, and in some cases, (8) overseers of the poor. The names of the officials indicate the township functions, which in many townships are confined to road improvement (of rural roads), poor relief, tax assessment, elections, and judicial duties. In about half of the states the township supervisor is a member of the county board.

Township meetings are held annually in many parts of the United States, but they deal with routine and unimportant matters and are usually poorly attended except in New England. There the "town meeting" is still vital and important. This is an annual session of the voters of the town. Local ordinances are moved, seconded, debated, and voted upon. Officers are nominated and elected. The affairs of the township are thoroughly aired and if anything questionable has occurred it is fairly certain to be exposed. Many of the larger towns have had to modify the annual meeting or abolish it altogether. Where still in use it is the only trace of pure, direct democracy in the United States.

Other Local Districts. A part of local government is carried on in some parts of the country through various special districts. One of the most common is the school district of various forms, rural, city, township or community high school, and non-high school district. The voters of these districts usually elect a board of education, which hires the teachers and school administrative officers. There are also sanitary districts, park districts, and library districts governed in similar fashion. The total number of governmental units in the United States was computed in 1934 as follows:

Federal government	1
State governments	48
Counties	3,053
Incorporated cities and villages	16,366
Townships and towns	20,262
School districts	127,108
Other units	8,580
Total	175,418

The complexity of these various forms constitutes a problem of government which will be discussed in Chapter 17

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. Explain the complexity of local government
2. What are the chief features of the mayor-council form of city government? Explain two criticisms of this form
3. How is the commission plan of city government an improvement on the mayor-council form? What is its chief weakness?
4. Who are the chief officers of a city?
5. What is the work of the city council? What are the most important ordinances passed by councils?
6. Who constitutes the city administration? What are its responsibilities? What would be the advantage of placing most of the city officials under civil service?
7. Why do city courts play an important part in law enforcement?
8. What part have party bosses played in city politics?
9. Explain how the city manager plan aims to improve city government. How has this form of government grown in the past few years?
10. To what extent does the long ballot contribute to inefficient and corrupt city government? What advantages are claimed for the short ballot? How would the short ballot program distribute elections?
11. Explain the following terms: preferential voting, proportional representation, initiative, referendum, and recall
12. What things must be taken into consideration in city planning? Explain zoning. To what extent have cities created planning commissions in the sixteen years preceding 1930?
13. Why is the use of experts in city government increasing? What are the advantages in the use of experts in government?
14. Explain village government
15. What are the extremes in size and population of counties in the United States?
16. What are the duties of the county board, the sheriff, the state's attorney, probate judge, coroner, clerk, treasurer, auditor, surveyor, and superintendent of schools?
17. What are the suggestions made for improving county government? Why is there some opposition to these suggestions?
18. Explain the "padding" of county payrolls. For what purposes are payrolls padded?
19. What changes are taking place in county and state relationships? Illustrate by North Carolina

- 20 What part do townships play in local government in those states and counties in which they exist?
- 21 What are the usual township officers? What other local governing districts sometimes exist?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 What groups in a community are most interested in planning? What groups should be? In 1928 a small city which then had a population of about 6,000 took as its slogan "10,000 by 1933." Is this a form of planning? Evaluate.
- 2 What are the advantages of a system of proportional representation?
- 3 What is the remedy for graft in local government?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Under how many governments do you live? How many of these are local? How many levy taxes?
- 2 How long is your local ballot? Could it be shortened? How? What are the names of your chief city officials? Where, when, and how frequently does your city council meet?
- 3 Get a map of your city. Are the streets well planned? Well named? Is the house numbering plan a good one? Imagine that you are a member of a planning commission and suggest a ten-year program for replanning your city.
- 4 Visit your county court house. Interview a few of the officials on the duties they perform for society. From your investigation do you believe that the work is actually done by the elected official or is it chiefly performed by a clerk who retains office year after year regardless of who is elected?
- 5 What population does your state require for cities?

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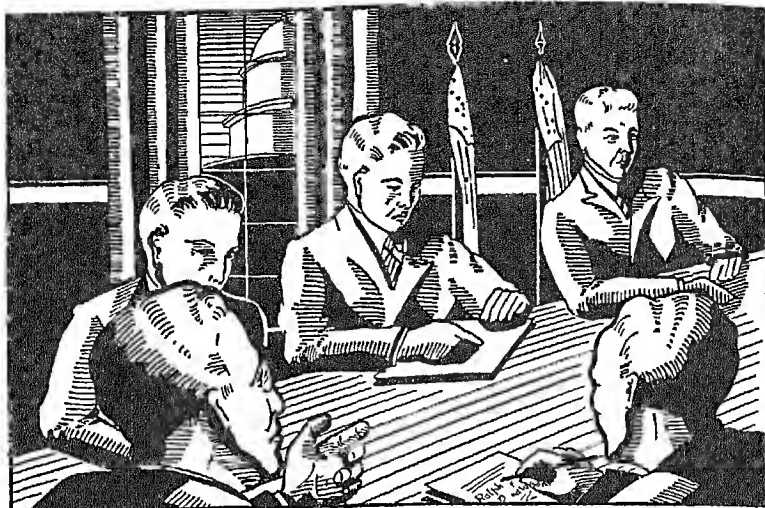
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Chapter 6 STATE GOVERNMENTS

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER.

- 1 To explain the importance of states in the federal system of government
- 2 To point out the chief features of state government
- 3 To consider some of the major problems facing the state governments

THERE are now forty-eight states. The original thirteen which launched the United States of America have from time to time admitted others. It is worth mentioning that the federal government was created by the states. After the states, acting somewhat co-operatively, had won independence from England, they set up a federal government. In fact they set up two successive federal governments, one under the Articles of Confederation, and later one under the Constitution. The one under the Articles lasted only a few years (1781-1789). It failed to function because the federal government was not powerful enough. So the states sent delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, our federal Constitution was written, and the states ratified it.

Division of Powers. The government set up is called federal because the states merely federated or joined themselves together for

certain purposes. The states did not lose the bulk of their powers, they merely gave up some of their powers in the common interest. This general principle is laid down in the tenth amendment,¹ which specifies that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States." Some of the important functions which are reserved to the states are (1) education, (2) punishment of crimes, (3) care of defective persons, (4) supervision of elections and voting qualifications, (5) marriage and divorce laws, and (6) forms and powers of local governments. Each state does some distinctive things. Thus Minnesota has a unique plan of classifying property for taxation. Wisconsin was the first to put an unemployment insurance plan into effect as well as many other experiments in progressive government. California led in establishing a system of junior colleges. North Carolina has recently centralized much of her administration of schools and highways in the hands of the state. No two states are exactly alike. Thus Michigan may have a state university but Rhode Island does not. Kansas and seven other states have abolished the death penalty. Arkansas and Alabama permit unnaturalized aliens to vote. Nevada grants quick and easy divorces. While the result is absence of uniformity, there are advantages. States can adapt their laws to local conditions. They can also adopt progressive social legislation, as Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and New York have done.

Equality of States It is worth noting that all the states are legally equal. They are not equal in size, Texas is 200 times the size of Rhode Island. They are not equal in population, New York is 130 times as populous as Nevada. The whole population of Nevada could be comfortably seated in a good college stadium to watch a football game! They are not equal in wealth. But they have equal legal status and each is sovereign. Congress is not permitted to give special favors to one state and deny them to others.

The states are supreme within their own boundaries in many important fields. They can determine the nature of their own governments. They can experiment, they can become highly efficient, or they can remain in a very backward condition. Therefore it is possible to describe only the broad outlines of their government.

¹ Adopted in 1789.

ORDERLY GOVERNMENT

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

State Legislatures Every state legislature except that of Nebraska is bicameral, that is, it is composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The Senates vary in size from 17 members to 67, the Houses from 35 to 413. Senators serve four years or less, the common term for Representatives is two years. The salary varies from \$3 per day of the session to almost \$2,000 a year, whether in session or not. Most of the sessions are biennial on odd numbered years, although special sessions are frequently held at other times.

A serious criticism levied at most state legislatures is that they are not truly representative. The districts from which they come are not all equal in population. (This is considered in some detail in Chapter 16.) Another criticism is that the bicameral system is undesirable. The National Municipal League some years ago recommended unicameral legislatures for states. With both houses chosen the same way, by much the same voters, for similar terms, they do not differ enough to make a second house essential. The unicameral legislature was urged as long ago as 1913 by Governor Hodges of Kansas, who sent a special message to the Kansas legislature as follows:

In common with a large and growing number of thoughtful people I am persuaded that the instrumentalities for legislation provided for in our State constitution have become antiquated and inefficient. Our system is fashioned after the English Parliament, with its two houses based upon the distinction between the nobility and the common people, each house representing the diverse interests of these classes. No such reason exists in this State for a dual legislative system, and even in England at the present time the dual system has been practically abandoned and the Upper House shorn of its importance, and I believe that we should now concern ourselves in devising a system for legislating that will give us more efficiency and quicker response to the demands of our economic and social conditions and to the will of the people.

You Senators and Representatives cannot but have observed the defects of our present system. In a short session of fifty days you are required to study and pass upon hundreds of measures, and the hurry with which this must be done must of necessity result in a number of more or less crude and ill-digested laws, which often puzzle learned jurists to interpret with anything like satisfaction to themselves or to

the public. Hundreds of measures also embodying important legislation, die on the calendar every two years. After a final session the Legislature adjourns, and the business of one co-ordinate branch of the State government is absolutely abandoned for a whole biennium, unless the Legislature is convoked in an expensive extraordinary session by the Governor. It is as if the head of an important department of some big business should give only fifty days every two years to its management.

For myself, I can see no good reason why the new idea of government by commission should not be adopted for the transaction of the business of the State. Two years ago I suggested a unicameral legislative assembly of thirty members from thirty legislative districts. I am now inclined to believe that this number is too large, and that a legislative assembly of one, or at most two from each Congressional district would be amply large. My judgment is that the Governor should be *ex officio* a member and presiding officer of this assembly, and that it should be permitted to meet in such frequent and regular or adjourned session as the exigencies of the public business demand; that their term of office be for four or six years, and that they be paid salaries sufficient to justify them in devoting their entire time to the public business. Such a legislative assembly would not, I believe, be more expensive than our present system. It would centralize the responsibility and accountability, and under the check of the recall would be quickly responsive to the wishes of the people.

No progress was made toward the above ideal in Europe, not for that matter, in any state, until in 1933 the voters of Nebraska ratified an amendment sponsored by Senator George W. Norris for a unicameral legislature of between thirty to fifty members. It has been decided that when this plan takes effect in 1937 the Legislature will consist of forty-three members. Iowa and California have recently voted to investigate this plan, but have not yet taken definite action for adoption.

Law-making. Each house elects its officers and chooses its committees. Any member may introduce bills which usually go through the following steps:

(1) *Drafting.* Some members write their own bills. More commonly a lawyer has been engaged by some interested person or organization to write it. About thirty states have Legislative Reference Bureaus, sometimes in connection with the State Library, where experts draft the bills suggested to them by members.

(2) *Introduction* Sometimes this is called *first reading*. The title only is read, usually by a clerk.

(3) *Referred to Committee* The day after it is introduced a bill is referred to a committee. Thus a bill dealing with labor laws goes to the Committee on Labor, one on schools goes to the Committee on Education. Here some real work is done. The committee considers, debates, holds hearings, investigates, and finally decides to reject the bill (this happens to nine-tenths of those introduced), or to amend it, or to report it to the House or Senate unchanged. It is possible, by vote of the members of the House or Senate, to order a bill out of committee despite the committee's decision to "kill" it.

(4) *Debate and Amendment* After the bill comes from the committee it is open for debate and amendment by any member. At the conclusion of the debate, which may last for several days or even weeks, the vote is taken. If the vote is favorable the bill goes to the other house. Here it goes through a similar procedure. If it finally passes it goes to the Governor for his signature. If changed by the second house in any way, it goes back to the first house for concurrence. If the first house does not agree to the changes, there is set up a special conference committee of a few members from each house. Here a compromise is made which, if both houses accept, is then sent to the Governor for his signature.

(5) *Signature or Veto* The Governor may sign or veto a bill, except in North Carolina.¹ If he signs it, it becomes a law. If he vetoes it, his veto may be overridden by the legislature, although this rarely happens. In a majority of the states he has a veto power not even given to the President in regard to the acts of Congress. That is the *selective* veto, the power to veto certain items in the bill and sign the rest. This power has been very important, it has often resulted in reducing legislative appropriations.

The Governors use the veto rather extensively, rejecting hundreds of bills or portions of bills each year. This power is increased by the fact that most legislatures meet for a specified number of days or weeks and usually only every other year. Many important bills are passed near the end of a session. The Governor can hold them unsigned and unvetoed until the session ends. Then he can veto as he pleases with no danger of having his veto overridden. The next regular session is nearly two years distant. Even if the Governor

¹ There the Governor does not have the veto power.

wishes to call a special session, most states give him the power to name the subjects which can be considered. Thus his veto power is often an absolute one. In general, public opinion has endorsed the use of the veto, undemocratic though it would be in the hands of any non-elected official.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Governor. The state's chief executive official is the Governor. He is elected by popular vote. In twenty-five of the states he has a two-year term. In one state he serves three years. In the rest of the states the term is four years. His legislative powers have been referred to above. Strong Governors, men like Smith and Roosevelt of New York, Pinchot of Pennsylvania, McNutt of Indiana, and Lowden of Illinois, have been successful in getting their legislative programs largely adopted by the legislature. But the Governor's chief powers are executive in character.

He always has an important task in making appointments. There are several hundred, in some states several thousand, persons on the state payroll who are subject to appointment by the governor. These include heads of government departments and employees in state institutions such as the prisons, the hospitals for mental defectives, state orphanages, and the like. They also include state highway police, game warden, oil inspectors, and dozens of other miscellaneous employees. Some states have reduced the use of the spoils system and have placed part of the above under the civil service system. In many states patronage is still the rule.

The Governor possesses certain military powers. He commands the state militia and can call them into service in case of disorder; he can declare martial law. These powers are rather frequently used, particularly in labor disputes.

The Governor supervises the work of all executive officers and departments. As the titular head of his party in the state, he wields considerable influence. Then he has the power to pardon. This is sometimes limited to recommendations of pardon boards or commissions. However, only sixteen states have such boards and some of these only advise the Governor. Inasmuch as the chief crimes are state offenses, this power is very important.

The importance of the Governor is attested by the notable men

who have held the office in recent years Theodore Roosevelt, Robert M. LaFollette, Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, Albert C. Ritchie, Charles Evans Hughes, Hiram Johnson, all of these figures in recent history were at one time Governors. In fact out of nineteen Republican and Democratic candidates for the Presidency from 1880 to 1932 no less than eleven had been at one time Governors of states. In the United States Senate there are at present (1936) seventeen former Governors.¹

Ex-Governor Alfred E. Smith once wrote an article for the *National Municipal Review* entitled "How We Ruin Our Governors."² The situation in New York state is described in this article, but it is so generally representative of all states that it merits quoting in part:

How long would any great corporation live if the man directing its affairs was compelled to spend 75 per cent of his time doing clerical work, signing papers, listening to reports that might well be directed to a competent subordinate? Can you imagine Judge Gary of the Steel Trust signing three copies of every lease that that corporation makes? Can you imagine him reading over the contract for the removal of ashes from one of the plants? Can you imagine him signing hundreds and hundreds of papers that might well be signed by the attorney of the corporation or by a vice-president or some equally responsible individual?

Theoretically the governor is the head of the government. He is supposed to plan the broad administrative policy. People think that he deals with large affairs. As a matter of fact his energy is consumed by trivial details of a clerical or subordinate nature. There is little time and strength left for the high functions of his office. In addition to the reorganization of the administrative departments to give him easy control and supervision over executive affairs, the governor must be relieved from scores of petty duties which demand his attention at serious detriment to his work for the people.

The most annoying duty that is placed upon the governor is his chairmanship of the trustees of public buildings. The capitol and agricultural hall in Albany are directly under the control of the trustees of public

¹ Robinson, Ark.
Johnson, Calif.
Townsend, Del.
Trammell, Fla.
Russell, Ga.
Capper, Kan.

Walsh, Mass.
Bilbo, Miss.
Keyes, N. H.
Brown, N. H.
Frazier, N. D.
Moore, N. J.

Donahey, Ohio.
Norbeck, S. D.
Bulow, S. D.
Byrd, Va.
Carey, Wyo.

² *National Municipal Review*, 10:277-80. Reprinted by permission of the editors of the *National Municipal Review*.

buildings, and the law contains a provision that all leases made between the state and the various landlords must be executed by the trustees of public buildings.

The trustees consist of the governor, the lieutenant-governor and the speaker of the assembly. It has been the fact for years that these three men come from widely different parts of the state. For the most trivial things the governor must call these men, after the adjournment of the legislature, from their homes to attend meetings for routine business.

The superintendent of the capitol should have some of the power now residing in the trustees. He should be empowered to dispose of useless furniture and fittings. As the law now stands he cannot dispose of a broken desk or a broken chair (I had to confer over some desks worth \$1.25 each) without the consent of the trustees of public buildings. They have to award all contracts, and before the contract to take the ashes out of the power house can be renewed the trustees must meet and pass upon that solemn proposition.

The state makes hundreds of leases in various cities for branches of the different state departments. Even for the small gas testing station required by the public service commission, the rental of which may be only twenty dollars a month, the governor and other trustees must sign three copies of each lease.

. . .

The law requires that the governor sign all the parole sheets before men are liberated from the various prisons of the state, even after they have completed the minimum time for which they were sentenced. This is an absolutely useless proceeding. The governor can have no personal knowledge of it, and simply signs the sheets certified to him by the board of parole. They properly should be signed by the superintendent of prisons, he being in possession of all the records. They are brought before the governor, and without any knowledge of his own, and no opportunity of gaining any, he simply goes through the empty formality of signing them. They come with great frequency. Every time the board of parole meets, the lists are brought in. Not only must they be signed by the governor, but they must be attested by the Secretary, thus the time of two busy men is taken up in a useless performance, which should be handled entirely by the superintendent of prisons.

In order that police officers appointed by railroad companies may have a state-wide power of arrest, sometime ago the law was amended providing for their appointment by the governor. That means that large stacks of certificates of appointment of railroad policemen are laid before the governor for his signature. He does not know the men he appoints, and has to rely upon the railroad as to their integrity and honesty when having conferred upon them by the governor the power to arrest. If such appointments are necessary (which is probable) by some state power, it certainly ought not to be in the hands of the

governor I have spent whole hours at a time writing my name to appointments of railroad policemen

.

The act creating the state constabulary contains a provision that the constabulary are not to exercise their powers in case of strike or riot within the boundaries of an incorporated city without the consent of the governor. This provision operates to make the governor the police commissioner when troops are needed for the suppression of riots inside of cities.

The result of this has been to cause the governor not only annoyance in the daytime, but at night I was frequently called out of bed at night by the officials of small cities asking for the assistance of the state constabulary. In a great many instances their troubles were imaginary.

I have in mind one particular case when I was called up in the night by one official of the government of a city asking for the constabulary and called up an hour later by another official of the same city advising me not to send them in. That made necessary a conference in the night time with the superintendent of the state police and we satisfied everybody by sending the men there in citizens' clothes.

There is another important matter that deserves serious attention, that might be easily remedied. It would require only legislative action, either by amendment to the rules, or if not, by amendment of the legislative law, to prevent the dumping of a large number of bills into the executive chamber, giving the governor only thirty days to consider them.

At the last session of the legislature I had 856 thirty-day bills. That means that I was given only thirty days to consider 856 bills. A great many of them were purely local in character, a great many of them were bills empowering the court of claims to hear and audit claims against the state.

This could be remedied by an amendment to the rules of the senate and assembly prohibiting the passage of purely local bills after a certain date in the session, so that the legislature may pass its unimportant local bills in the early months of the session, leaving the calendar clear at the end of the session for a discussion of the large proposals that affect all the people of the state.

This procedure would also give the governor plenty of time and opportunity, in the thirty-day-bill period, to study out the larger proposals, and not have his time and the time of his office force taken up in passing on little local matters.

My experience at the close of the last session showed me that the large number of bills left with me could not be intelligently disposed of unless I worked from 9:30 in the morning until 1 or 2 o'clock the

following morning. It is too much of a strain to put on the governor, and leaves him useless for some time after.

The total net result of a New York governor's too-plentiful duties is that the great, big, prominent questions that affect the welfare of a commonwealth of over 10,000,000 people are subordinated to the small, tiresome, and irritating tasks that are put upon the governor by statute.

Governor's Conferences. In 1908 the Governors began to meet once a year in Governors' Conferences. It was hoped that co-operation between the states might result leading to more uniformity in state legislation and administration. The Governors exchanged views and no doubt profited much from these contacts. However, many Governors have failed to attend these meetings and every effort to establish a functioning organization with a permanent secretary has failed. The Conference has decided to refrain from adopting any resolutions or taking action on controversial matters.

Other Executive Officials. Most state constitutions provide also for the election of other officers. There is the lieutenant-governor, whose only duties ordinarily are to preside over the Senate. There is the secretary of state who issues charters, state licenses, and keeps the official records of the state. The attorney-general is the chief state prosecutor, the state's legal advisor, and the state's representative in suits with other states. There is a state treasurer, and a state auditor, the latter sometimes having supervision of state banks. There is a state superintendent of education, although in a number of states he is appointed. In most states the above officers are independent of the Governor. Sometimes they belong to the opposition party.

It is evident that this does not make for responsible administration. One remedy might be achieved by making most of the above officials appointed by the Governor. A halfway reform in improving the state administrative machinery was made by Illinois in 1919. It is described by ex-Governor Frank O. Lowden in the following article ¹

During the last century every great private industry has undergone a complete transformation. As civilization has become more complex the machinery of business has changed continuously to meet its changing

¹ *National Municipal Review*, 15 8-13. Reprinted by permission of the editors of the *National Municipal Review*.

needs. In the machinery of government alone progress has not kept apace with the needs. Yet the business of government has grown in complexity and in the number of subjects with which it deals quite as rapidly as has private enterprise. This failure has been due largely to the fact that until recent years the total expenses of government were so small relatively as to influence but little the general prosperity of the country. During political campaigns, parties frequently charged each other with extravagance, but the people were little interested because the revenues were largely derived from indirect sources and no burden was felt.

When I became governor of Illinois, in January, 1917, there were something over one hundred and twenty-five independent and unrelated agencies of the state government, sometimes composed of boards, sometimes commissions, and sometimes individual officials. In fact, so confused was the situation that no two agreed upon just exactly how many independent activities the state was conducting. Necessarily, this resulted in much overlapping of work. In purchases there was competition between different agencies of the government, and there was, of course, needless expense. Above all, there was greatly reduced efficiency. In theory these various offices were supervised by the governor, but in fact it was absolutely impossible for him to exercise any adequate supervision over them. They were scattered over the state, frequent personal contact with them was out of the question, and for all practical purposes the state government was without an actual head. Energetic and competent administration was impossible.

One consequence of this haphazard method, or lack of method, of government was lack of law enforcement. Something went wrong or seemed to go wrong, and a law was enacted, and there the matter rested, as though the law were an end in itself. We were confronted with a problem requiring solution and then the legislature passed the problem on to a commission and felicitated itself that it had solved the problem. It is a grievous error to enact a law and then to disregard it. Even the best law badly administered is worse than none. For ours is a government of law. In America the sovereign power resides in the people, but the people speak only through the law. Whenever, therefore, law is disregarded, the sovereignty of the people is insulted, and no sovereign power, whether it be *demos* or king, can long rule unless it has the vigor and the will to vindicate itself.

The problem was to gather up the scattered agencies and to reorganize them into departments of government. Upon a study of the nature of these agencies, we concluded that they logically fell into nine groups. We then abolished the more than one hundred and twenty-five boards, commissions, and independent offices, and created nine new departments to take over their functions. These departments were: (1) finance, (2) agriculture, (3) labor, (4) mines and minerals, (5)

public works and buildings, (6) public welfare, (7) public health, (8) trade and commerce, and (9) registration and education. The powers and duties of each department were defined by the code.

The question then arose as to whether these departments should be under the control of individuals or of commissions. In acquiring the habit of creating a board or a commission to take care of government work, we have assumed that if something important was to be done it would be best done if done by a body of men, and not an individual. The fact is—as all who have had experience in business of any kind know—that it is the individual who does things, not a board or a commission. There is no commission anywhere, there is no board anywhere, that does things affirmatively unless it is dominated by one man, and the only benefit from the other members of that body is in their advisory capacity.

Always it is an individual on a board or commission who takes the initiative, and the body is fortunate if the other members do not hamper him. I am speaking now of administration. A commission may be desirable where quasi-judicial or quasi-legislative powers are exercised. Where, however, the duties are purely or largely ministerial, experience has shown that it is a man, not a body of men, who gets results.

There are some who have assumed that large responsibility could be more safely deposited in a body of men than in a single man. Experience has not justified this. Where the responsibility is upon the individual, he cannot shirk it. Where it is placed in a body of men, the individual can find shelter behind that body, when called to account for the manner in which he has exercised his power.

There also is a deadly inertia in a board or commission which is not so likely to be found in the individual. It is a true saying that "what is everybody's business is nobody's business." It is equally true that where several members of a board or commission share a given responsibility, no one of them feels that responsibility as keenly as though he bore it alone. Good and efficient public service makes it mandatory that responsibility be fixed definitely. Then only can a public official be held to a strict accountability. Responsibility can be definitely placed only if it be reposed in an individual. For these reasons, in Illinois we placed at the head of each of the nine departments an individual, whom we called a director, and not a board or commission.

In his recent biography, Henry Watterson illuminated this point. "Patriotism cries 'God give us men,' but the parties say 'Give us votes and offices,' and Congress proceeds to create a commission. Thus responsibilities are shirked and places are multiplied."

It may happen, however, that the head of a department, upon some important question of policy, would like the advice of able and experienced men. We, therefore, provide advisory committees. The members serve without pay. We have found that many of the ablest men in Illinois are perfectly willing to serve upon an advisory committee with-

out pay, although they could not be induced to take a salaried position. In this way we availed ourselves of the best talent within the state upon the various subjects of state administration.

Department Heads The situation is somewhat complicated in many states by the existence of a number of independent boards and commissions in addition to these administrative departments. These are all usually appointed by the Governor and responsible to him. They include health, public welfare, registration, labor, commerce, mines, conservation, education, finance, highways, agriculture, public works, purchases, and a variety of other services. In addition there are many commissions for special purposes. There are tax commissions, utility commissions, trustees of state schools, pardon boards, boxing commissions, civil service boards, and others. Some are permanent, others are temporary. The result is an amazingly complex picture and an easy opportunity for waste and graft. The need for simplification is apparent.

It would be highly desirable to make relatively few of these boards elective. The voter must have a short ballot. Besides our experience with appointed boards is quite as good as with elected boards. Perhaps the greatest need in state government is the increased use of experts which could be attained by the co-ordination of state administrative services into a relatively small number of departments. This is substantially what Governor Lowden hoped to do for Illinois but constitutional provisions prevented his complete success.

JUDICIAL BRANCH

State Supreme Courts Every state has appellate courts, sometimes only one, sometimes several, to lighten the burden of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is always a court of appeals, and in eight states is not called the Supreme Court but is instead known as the Court of Appeals, or the Court of Errors. There are anywhere from three to sixteen members of the court, depending on the state, a common number being seven. They are generally elected, although a few states now make the office appointive. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire give the judges a term of office of life or during good behavior. Most states have shorter terms, six years being the most common. In most states the Supreme Court

exercises some slight supervision over the state's legal system, examining and licensing prospective lawyers, and forming certain rules of practice

The Supreme Courts may declare state laws unconstitutional and frequently do so. Cases involving federal laws or the federal Constitution may be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. In other cases the state Supreme Court has the final word.

SOME STATE ACTIVITIES

State Institutions. All of the states have found it advisable to create state schools, charitable institutions, correctional institutions, and the like. Forty-five states support state universities. All but five have state teachers' colleges or normal schools. These institutions, particularly in the western states, furnish the bulk of all higher education offered to the young men and women of the state. The relative position of publicly controlled colleges (state universities, teachers' colleges, city colleges, and junior colleges) and privately controlled colleges (privately endowed schools and church colleges usually) for the year 1931-1932 is as follows:

	Faculty	Students
Public colleges	48,458	651,168
Private colleges	52,331	571,919

There are also state schools for special purposes. There are fifty-seven state schools for the deaf in the country with over twelve thousand persons attending. There are almost as many state schools for the blind. There are eighty state schools for feeble-minded, some states having as many as five. States maintain hospitals for the insane and prisons for the criminals. Many states have very fine institutions for delinquent boys and girls where some real character training is carried out and many persons are actually reformed. Most states make some provision for old soldiers, and for orphaned children of veterans. With this variety and extent of various state institutions, it is easy to see how the number of state employees is quite large. In 1932 the total number of state employees was 251,813, not counting those employed in education.

Other State Activities. (1) *Building highways.* No state activity has received greater attention since the World War than the con-

struction of paved highways Over 250,000 miles of good roads were constructed by the forty-eight states in the decade before 1930 Much of this was done with the help of federal funds, although the states supervised the actual construction and paid most of the cost Practically all of the debt of many states was incurred for highways

(2) *Conservation* Most states have commissions or departments for the purpose of conserving the forests, streams, and wild animal life Some states have acquired state parks, both for the purposes of conservation and supplying places for wholesome, outdoor recreation Pennsylvania now owns 5 per cent of its total area and is developing a fine program of tree-planting Other states with notably fine state parks are Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota These departments sometimes issue the hunting and fishing licenses and enforce the state game laws

(3) *Protection* Every state maintains a state militia force—the national guard It totals about 175,000 enlisted men and costs about \$40,000,000 annually, of which the federal government pays three-fourths It is called out to put down rioting, labor disputes in some places, race riots and lynching mobs in others, and is often used to police areas devastated by fires, earthquakes, tornadoes, and similar catastrophes

Another form of protection is accorded by the State Board of Health or the Chief Health Officer This work consists of setting forth quarantine regulations, the collection of vital statistics (including the registration of births and deaths), and general leadership in the direction of good health

Many states have a State Fire Marshal or other agency which takes the lead in all fire prevention work This office may prescribe rules for the construction and use of buildings, may require fire drills in public schools, and give out much valuable advice on methods of checking fire losses

While only a few states maintain regular state police forces, recent years have witnessed the development of state highway police In addition to patrolling the state roads and aiding the orderly movement of traffic at places of congestion, the highway police occasionally function in the apprehension of criminals

(4) *Labor* The various state laws in regard to labor are discussed in Chapter 12 These laws are usually enforced by a state

department of labor. Its work includes factory inspection, the conducting of free employment offices, mine rescue work, and sometimes the administration of compensation and pension funds.

(5) *Scientific Services* Some states have various geological, agricultural, and historical agencies, and a number have very adequate state libraries. States which have carried on land utilization surveys and have studied the state's natural resources are in an excellent position to do state planning. In 1933 and 1934 state planning commissions were set up in all the states under the general supervision of the National Planning Board.

(6) *Public Utilities* The state agencies existing to regulate utility companies are described in Chapter 11.

Improving State Government. Many possible reforms have been noted above. Reference was made in Chapter 5 to the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. These are used in some form or another in about half of the states. Many changes in the structure of state government are no doubt also advisable.

But much of the reform must come through competent leadership. A number of states have already paved the way in certain lines. Wisconsin has shown what can be done in utility regulation and tax reform. New York has done some fine things in housing. Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York have made notable strides in state forests, conservation, and recreation. North Carolina has centralized local governments. Massachusetts has passed notable labor laws and expanded the use of the civil service. Wisconsin and other states have supported very fine state universities. Many other achievements might be cited. Their total is a record of progress, spotted though it is, in improving the character of state government.

States and the Nation. Our peculiar federal system gives great diversity between state laws. We have forty-eight state banking systems, forty-eight sets of marriage and divorce laws, forty-eight state tax systems, and so on. This is both a strength and a weakness. It is a strength in that it permits each state to experiment, to adapt its laws to its own needs. It is a weakness because the great lack of uniformity between state laws sometimes injures certain states. Industries are supposed to have moved out of Wisconsin because of that state's different (and better) tax laws. New Yorkers charter corporations in Delaware where the corporation laws

are not strict New Yorkers marry in Connecticut, are divorced in Nevada, and retire in Florida (where there is no state income tax). There has been a fairly earnest attempt made to secure uniform state laws on certain clear-cut subjects. But the movement has had little success.

Recently the federal government has led somewhat toward uniformity through federal aid to states. Just as the states have stimulated local schools, highways, housing, and so on by state *grants-in-aid*, the federal government carries centralization a bit further by federal aid. This has been given to states for highways, vocational education, conservation, and employment agencies, and this is likely to be extended in the future. Because the grants are given on condition that certain standards are met by the states, greater uniformity will result. In addition the federal government is constantly assuming more powers, powers formerly left to the states.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by delegated powers, reserved powers? To what government were powers delegated by the Constitution? To what governments were they reserved?
2. What are some of the important reserved powers?
3. What are the disadvantages and advantages of lack of uniformity in state laws?
4. What are the advantages of unicameral state legislatures as set forth by ex-Governor Hodges of Kansas?
5. What steps are followed by a bill in going through a state legislature and becoming a law?
6. Explain veto and selective veto. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the selective veto?
7. Explain the importance, powers, and duties of a Governor.
8. Summarize the difficulties confronting Governors in their work as presented in the quotation from ex-Governor Smith.
9. Discuss the reform of state government explained by ex-Governor Lowden.
10. Why is there a need for simplification in the administration of state governments?
11. Explain the work of the state Supreme Courts.
12. What typical state institutions are found in most states?
13. Explain the following activities of state governments: highway building, conservation, protection, labor, and scientific service.
14. Discuss the proposals for reform of state governments explained in this chapter.

15. What is the relationship between the various states and the federal government?
16. What has led toward some uniformity in state laws?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Should all administrative officers other than the Governor, be appointed by the Governor? Explain.
2. Should all states simplify their administrative departments as was done by Illinois and New York? Explain.
3. Question for panel discussion: Should the states have uniform divorce laws (or corporation laws, marriage laws, taxation systems . . .)?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. Explain the administration of your state government.
2. If your state does not have a unicameral legislature, do you believe that steps should be taken to secure this reform? Explain.
3. What governmental reforms are being proposed for your state? Explain the most important of them.
4. What state institutions does your state support? Where are they located? What is their value to the state?
5. Does your state have a state constabulary or a system of highway police? If so, what are their duties?
6. What scientific services does your state government perform for the citizens of the state? What has been the work of your State Planning Commission?

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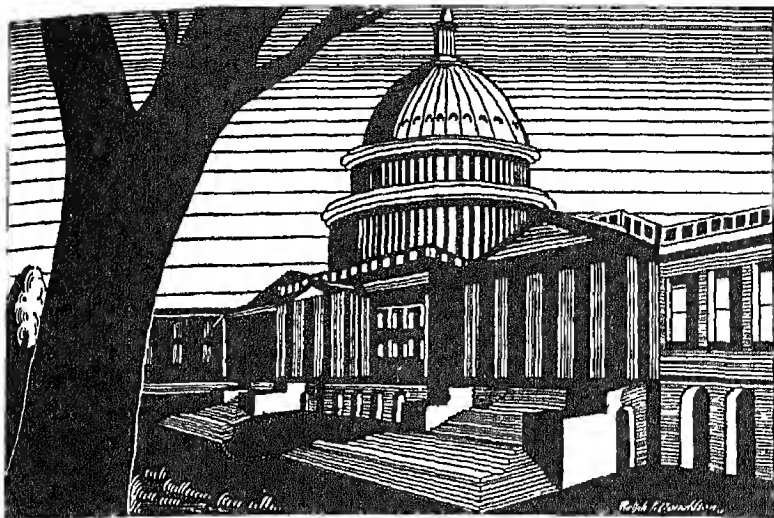
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State	Ratified Constitution	Population 1930	Area Sq Mile	Rep in Cong	Electoral Vote
Delaware	Dec 7, 1787	238,380	2,370	1	3
Pennsylvania	Dec 12, 1787	9,631,350	45,126	34	36
New Jersey	Dec 18, 1787	4,041,334	8,224	14	16
Georgia	Jan 2, 1788	2,908,506	59,265	10	12
Connecticut	Jan 9, 1788	1,606,903	4,965	6	8
Massachusetts	Feb 6, 1788	4,249,614	8,266	15	17
Maryland	Apr 28, 1788	1,631,526	12,327	6	8
South Carolina	May 23, 1788	1,728,765	30,989	6	8
New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	465,293	9,341	2	4
Virginia	June 26, 1788	2,421,851	42,627	9	11
New York	July 26, 1788	12,588,066	49,204	45	47
North Carolina	Nov 21, 1789	3,170,276	52,426	11	13
Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	687,497	1,248	2	4
Admitted to Union					
Vermont	Mar 4, 1791	359,611	9,564	1	3
Kentucky	June 4, 1792	2,614,589	40,598	9	11
Tennessee	June 1, 1796	2,616,556	42,022	9	11
Ohio	Mar 3, 1803	6,646,697	41,040	24	26
Louisiana	Apr 8, 1812	2,101,593	48,506	8	10
Indiana	Dec 11, 1816	3,238,503	36,354	12	14
Mississippi	Dec 10, 1817	2,009,821	46,865	7	9
Illinois	Dec 3, 1818	7,630,654	56,665	27	29
Alabama	Dec 14, 1819	2,646,248	51,998	9	11
Maine	Mar 3, 1820	797,423	33,040	3	5
Missouri	Aug 10, 1821	3,629,367	69,420	13	15
Michigan	Nov 2, 1835	4,842,325	57,980	17	19
Arkansas	June 15, 1836	1,854,482	53,335	7	9
Florida	Mar 3, 1845	1,468,211	58,666	5	7
Texas	Dec 29, 1845	5,824,715	265,896	21	23
Iowa	Mar 3, 1846	2,470,939	56,147	9	11
Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	2,939,006	56,066	10	12
California	Sept 9, 1850	5,677,251	158,297	20	22
Minnesota	May 11, 1858	2,563,953	84,682	9	11
Oregon	Feb 14, 1859	953,786	96,699	3	5
Kansas	Jan 29, 1861	1,880,999	82,158	7	9
West Virginia	Dec 31, 1862	1,729,205	24,170	6	8
Nevada	Oct 31, 1864	91,058	110,690	1	3
Nebraska	Mar 1, 1867	1,377,963	77,520	5	7
Colorado	Aug 1, 1876	1,935,791	103,948	4	6
North Dakota	Nov 2, 1889	680,845	70,837	2	4
South Dakota	Nov 2, 1889	692,849	77,615	2	4
Montana	Nov 8, 1889	537,606	146,997	2	4
Washington	Nov 11, 1889	1,563,396	69,127	6	8
Idaho	July 3, 1890	445,032	83,888	2	4
Wyoming	July 10, 1890	225,565	97,914	1	3
Utah	Jan 4, 1896	507,847	84,990	2	4
Oklahoma	Nov 16, 1907	2,396,040	70,057	9	11
New Mexico	Jan 6, 1912	423,317	122,634	1	3
Arizona	Feb 14, 1912	435,573	113,956	1	3



Chapter 7 THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To portray the powers and activities of Congress
- 2 To consider the powers conferred on the President and the work of the administrative department
- 3 To explain the power and importance of the federal judiciary
- 4 To note some problems concerning the federal government

THE division of powers was described at the beginning of Chapter 6. We have seen how important the state governments are in our form of government. They have very large spheres of power. But the balance of powers has allocated many important activities to the jurisdiction of the federal government. In the fields delegated to it the federal government is supreme. This includes the highly important fields of:

(1) *Foreign relations.* The federal government is in complete control of foreign affairs. It makes peace and war, recognizes nations or refuses to do so, negotiates treaties, and controls the army and navy.

(2) *Interstate and foreign commerce.* This permits the federal government to regulate railroads and other means of transportation

and communication, and to control articles of commerce which cross state or national boundaries

(3) *The currency system* Congress has the sole power to coin money and to regulate the value thereof

(4) *Immigration and naturalization* Congress may limit or prohibit immigration and prescribe the rules by which aliens are naturalized

(5) *Copyrights and patents* The federal government encourages authors, artists, and inventors by giving them the exclusive right to reproduce the products of their creation

(6) *Postal service* One could not conceive of the postal service being operated by any other agency than the federal government

(7) *Bankruptcies* The laws pertaining to bankruptcy are enacted by Congress so that they are uniform throughout the United States

(8) *Taxation* The Congress has the power to levy taxes for the support of the federal government, which power includes the sole authority over import duties or tariffs

(9) *Implied powers* The Constitution grants Congress power to do whatever is "necessary and proper" to execute the foregoing powers¹

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Congress. Law-making power is vested in the two houses of Congress subject to the veto power of the President. The House of Representatives consists of 435 members apportioned to the states according to population. Thus New York has forty-five members and Nevada has one. The members of the House serve for two years. The Senate consists of ninety-six members, two from each state. Senators serve for six years, with thirty-two terms expiring every second year. The salary of Senators and Representatives is \$10,000 a year, plus allowances for clerk hire and traveling expenses. Congress meets each year from January third until such time as they choose to adjourn. The President may call them to meet in special session at any time.

Law-making. No law can be enacted without passing both houses. Then it must be signed by the President. If *vetoed* by the President,

¹ This clause in Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, has been used to extend greatly the federal powers.

that is, returned unsigned with a message giving the President's objections, it must pass Congress a second time by a two-thirds vote in each house. Sometimes a bill passes the House but doesn't get through the Senate. Sometimes one passes the Senate and is "killed" in the House. Some pass both houses and are vetoed. The various steps required to enact a law are as follows:

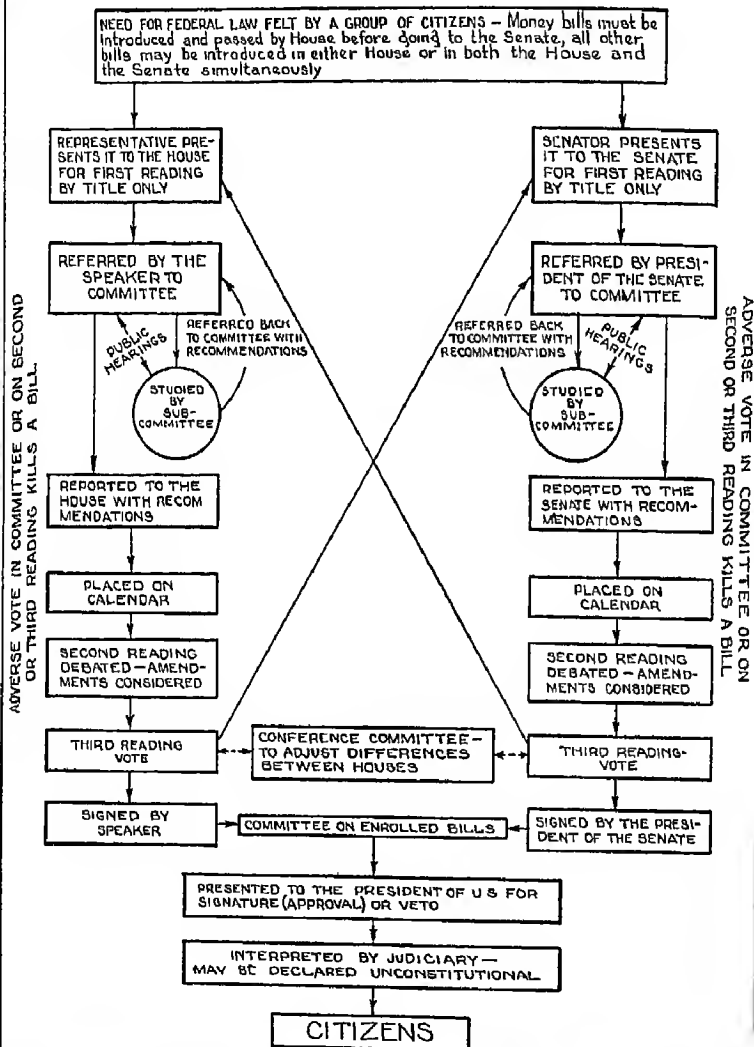
- (1) Introduced in one house (first reading by title only)
- (2) Referred to a committee
- (3) Considered, sometimes with public hearings, and "reported out" of committee to the house
- (4) Placed on calendar
- (5) Second reading, debate and amendments.
- (6) Third reading—vote on passage
- (7) Sent to the other house
- (8) Referred to a committee in the other house
- (9) Considered and "reported out" of committee
- (10) Placed on calendar
- (11) Second reading, debate and amendments
- (12) Third reading—vote on passage
- (13) If the second house has made any changes in the bill which are not approved by the first house, it goes to a *conference committee* representing members of both houses who attempt to compromise the differences
- (14) Reported back to both houses as modified
- (15) Passed by both houses
- (16) Goes to the President

This is a long and arduous process and some good bills get lost in the maze. They may die in committee, which is very common. They may be amended beyond recognition. But a bill which runs the gauntlet of the above process is likely to be well-considered, carefully framed, and one for which there is quite a general demand. This usually takes weeks or months, and public opinion on the bill has a chance to form and be heard.

Special Senate Functions. The Senate has three special powers delegated to it by the Constitution. They are:

- (1) *Treaties*. The President "shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-

MAKING A FEDERAL LAW



thirds of the Senators present concur."¹ In actual practice all treaties with foreign nations are negotiated by the President, usually acting through the State Department or a special commission. But they are not valid until ratified by the Senate. Thus the Senate has frequently refused to do. The Versailles Treaty is a famous example. Sometimes the Senate has amended treaties or attached "reservations." The result has been that some Senators, especially those on the Committee on Foreign Relations, are usually consulted while the treaties are being drawn.

The requirement of a two-thirds vote has often been criticized. The famous Versailles Treaty in 1920 received a vote of forty-nine yeas and thirty-five nays so it was rejected, although favored by a majority of the Senate. In 1935 President Roosevelt, following the examples of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, asked the Senate to ratify a resolution for American adherence to the World Court. This lost although there were fifty-two yeas to thirty-six nays. After being Secretary of State for six years, John Hay wrote, "A treaty entering the Senate is like a bull going into the arena, no one can say just how or when the final blow will fall—but one thing is certain—it will never leave the arena alive."² However the Senate has rejected only twenty or thirty treaties, although it has altered by amendments and reservations about a hundred others.

(2) *Appointments* The Senate also has the power to ratify appointments, except that here a mere majority is sufficient. Only the more important officers are appointed in this way,³ others are chosen by heads of departments and by the Civil Service Commission. But federal judges, cabinet officers, ambassadors, and members of boards and commissions must receive the Senate's approval. This approval is usually given. But President Coolidge was not allowed to name Charles B. Warren as Attorney-General, and President Hoover's nomination of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court was rejected.

(3) *Court of Impeachment* The House of Representatives has the power of *impeaching*, or indicting, any federal official, including

¹ *Constitution of the United States*, Article II, Section 2.

² Thayer, W. R., *Life and Letters of John Hay*, 2, 393.

³ About 12,000 in all are chosen by the President and the Senate. There are nearly 800,000 federal employees including postal employees, the army, and navy.

ORDERLY GOVERNMENT

the President, if they consider him guilty of crime in office. Then the Senate tries the case. A two-thirds vote is needed to convict the impeached official and remove him from office. There have been only eleven impeachments since 1789. All were judges except one, and that was President Johnson.¹ Three convictions have resulted and two other persons resigned from office during the proceedings.

Party Organization of Congress. Congress is divided along party lines. In the 74th Congress (1935-1937) there was the following distribution:

	Republicans	Democrats	Others
Senate	25	69	2
House	103	321	11

This is less evenly divided than usual. Not in the last sixty years has there been another instance of such substantial majorities for either party. It has occasionally happened that one party controls the House and the other party controls the Senate. This was true of the 72nd Congress (1931-1933) and of the 66th (1919-1921). Such a situation leads to a "deadlock." Often it is difficult to enact legislation of any importance during such times.

Party Caucus. The party members of each house are organized into party caucuses or conferences. These are always held just prior to the opening of a session of Congress and may be held during the session if called by the party leaders. In the caucus of the party in power the Speaker of the House and the President pro tem of the Senate are selected, although actually, of course, the formal election is held days or weeks later in Congress. All parties select in caucus the floor leader, the party "whip," the "Steering Committee," and the Committee on Committees.² In rare cases the caucus considers pending legislation and votes to support or to oppose certain measures.

Of course these decisions in the caucus are not legally binding on the members but they have generally been accepted. If the caucus chooses Byrns for Speaker of the House all the Democratic mem-

¹ In 1789 Senator Blount was impeached also, but it was held that Congressmen are not subject to impeachment. They can be *expelled* by a two-thirds vote of the House in which they sit.

² There are variations on these matters among the four caucuses. In some cases the party members of the Ways and Means Committee act as the Committee on Committees. Sometimes this is done by the Steering Committee.

bers are fairly certain to support him in the actual election. Failure to do so would bring party discipline, perhaps loss of patronage, or failure to be selected to important committees. Opposition to the caucus, especially if used for legislation, lies in the fact that it is a form of minority rule. For example, suppose the House Democrats in caucus should vote to override the President on veterans' payments. Suppose the caucus vote is 161 for and 160 against. If the caucus decision should be upheld in Congress by a straight party vote 321 to 163 it would mean that 161 persons won as against the wishes of 274. There are not many cases in which this has occurred but it is a danger of the caucus system.

Party Leaders in Congress. In the House there is a Republican floor leader and a Democratic floor leader. It is the duty of these important men to direct the process of legislation. They often have much to say in regard to committee selections. They propose changes in rules, unanimous agreements, allot time for debate, and direct the party strategy. The majority leader (Democratic) in the 74th Congress was William B. Bankhead of Alabama. The minority leader was Bertrand H. Snell of New York. The parties have similar offices in the Senate, the majority leader having been Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, and the minority leader, Charles L. McNary of Oregon. Upon the shoulders of these men a great responsibility rests. To assist these there are sometimes assistant leaders and "whips." Their chief task is to round-up members for important votes. The steering committee corresponds to a board of strategy. During the session it meets daily. Then there is the Committee on Committees.

Committees. Four hundred and thirty-five men can hardly cope with the task of carefully digesting several thousand bills in a few months' time if they meet in one body. Much of the detailed work in framing laws, in tearing them apart, and in analyzing their effects, must be done in committees. So forty-seven committees exist in the House. Some are very important. Members take pride in being placed on the important Ways and Means Committee, in which all tax bills originate, or on Appropriations, or Banking and Currency, or Rules, or the Judiciary Committee. Others such as the Committee on the Disposition of Useless Executive Papers are trivial and unimportant. Although there are only ninety-six Senators there are thirty-three Senate committees. The most important ones

are Finance, Appropriations, Foreign Relations, Banking, Interstate Commerce, Rules, and Audits and Control

The committees have from three to twenty-five members. In every case the party in power has a majority on the committee. Thus there are fifteen Democrats and ten Republicans on the Committee on Ways and Means, or if the Republicans are in control, *vice versa*. This usually permits a member to stay on a certain committee for a long time. This is especially true because of the use, by custom, of the *seniority rule*. A new Senator put on the Finance Committee might become chairman of the committee twenty years later (if he is still in Congress). Senior committee members frequently become very expert. Senator Frazier of North Dakota asked to be placed on the unpretentious committee on Indian Affairs and become a first class authority on that problem. Senator Glass after many years on the Banking Committee became a recognized authority in that field.

These committees meet weekly or oftener during the session. They frequently hold public hearings. They may request executive officials to appear before them to answer questions. In framing the Tariff Act of 1930 the Senate Finance Committee was in session eleven weeks. It heard hundreds of witnesses and printed thousands of pages of testimony. When the bill was finally reported to the Senate the committee had changed 1226 items in the House bill.

Congressional Debate. After a bill once reaches the floor of the House the debate begins. But obviously 435 members cannot be heard in long speeches on each bill. So there is a one-hour limit on all speeches at all times. But this is not enough. It is very common for the Rules Committee to recommend that debate on a certain bill be limited to two hours, or four hours, or possibly sixteen hours on highly important, controversial measures. Then the time is allotted to each side and divided among the members chosen by the floor leaders. It is evident that under this plan there is very little deliberation on the floor of the House.

In the Senate, on the other hand, there are no such limits. Here debates are free and unhampered. Sometimes there is *filibustering*, a process of delay which aims to "talk a bill to death." At times this has been successful, especially near the close of a session. After one such case, in March, 1917, the Senate adopted its present Rule 22. This provides that on petition of sixteen Senators a vote

on curtailing debate must be held on the following day. If carried by a two-thirds vote it limits each Senator to one hour on that bill. This is quite mild. Actually this rule has been applied only a few times.

It is a common complaint that Congress "talks too much," particularly the Senate. Thoughtful students have not found this to be the case. There has been deliberation and delay, but frequently in the public interest. In fact the greater freedom of debate in the Senate is probably one reason for its greater prestige and the waning importance of the House.

Congressional Investigations. One of the most dramatic developments of recent years has been the increased use of Congressional, particularly senatorial, investigations. A member introduces a resolution asking that a Senate committee be empowered to inquire into the letting of air-mail contracts, or the leasing of naval oil reserves, or the operation of the New York Stock Exchange. Such resolutions as pass usually carry an appropriation for attorney fees and other expenses. Sometimes a special committee is called for, sometimes the inquiry is referred to an existing board or commission. Some of the famous investigations are

(1) *Naval Oil Leases.* The exposures usually called the "Teapot Dome Scandal" showed fraud and bribery. The courageous and dogged work of Senator Walsh on this investigation resulted in the annulment of the dishonest leases by the Supreme Court, and the conviction of Secretary of Interior Fall for accepting a bribe.

(2) *Campaign Expenditures in 1926.* This disclosed the excessive expenditures in their senatorial campaigns of Smith and McKinley of Illinois, and Vare and Pepper of Pennsylvania. The questionable sources of the funds also led to the disbarment of the winning candidates from the Senate.

(3) *Public Utility Propaganda.* This study by the Federal Trade Commission, which began in 1927 at the request of the Senate, unearthed an amazing campaign against government ownership of utilities which was being carried on in the schools and elsewhere.

(4) *Banking Practices.* Under a capable lawyer, Ferdinand Pecora, the Senate Banking Committee in 1933 discovered many facts in regard to income tax evasions, preferred stock lists, "pools" to manipulate stocks, and other questions.

(5) *Munitions Industry* Under the chairmanship of Senator Nye, a special Senate Committee in 1934 and 1935 discovered some significant facts in regard to the enormous war profits of munitions makers and the very close and cordial relationships existing between them and the war departments of this and foreign governments.

Many persons have challenged the power of Congress to engage in these investigations which they allege to be "non-legislative" in character. However, the courts have upheld its use. Furthermore most of the investigations have resulted in legislation. The "Teapot Dome" investigation resulted in a number of laws which safeguarded the federal oil reserves. The banking inquiry resulted in the Banking Acts of 1933 and 1934. In 1935 several bills were considered arising out of the munitions investigation. So that in a sense this whole investigating function is legislative. Opponents also claim it to be excessively expensive. But it seems a small price to pay for the good they have done. The "Teapot Dome" inquiry alone uncovered over \$2,000,000 in unpaid income taxes which were collected with penalties. This would about pay for all the investigations conducted from 1789 to 1930.

EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The President The President is elected indirectly, that is, through the electoral college. The Constitution provides that the number of electors from each state shall equal the number of Representatives and Senators. This gives New York forty-seven and no state fewer than three. There is no requirement as to how they shall be selected, in fact, a state could have its electors chosen by the state legislature as some states once did. But now all states choose the electors by popular vote. The election date is in November every "leap" year. The electors meet in their states and cast their ballots, which are counted by Congress. The President's term begins on January 20.

The whole electoral college plan is now unnecessary and in some ways undesirable. The political parties nominate their candidates and select a slate of electors who are pledged to vote for their party choice. The voter rarely knows the names of the electors. To him they are solely "rubber-stamps." An amendment to abolish the plan and to have a direct vote on the President has been laid

before Congress by Senator George Norris, who also sponsored the twentieth or "lame-duck" amendment. It provides that each state shall keep its same quota of electoral votes but that they shall be allocated to various candidates in proportion to the popular vote each receives.¹

The President's term is four years. Ten Presidents have been re-elected for a second term. Two others, Theodore Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge, have been elected to a full term after serving part of a term. There is nothing in the Constitution to prevent a third term, but it has never been attempted.² If the President dies, the Vice President, whose ordinary duties are very light as presiding officer of the Senate, becomes President. This has occurred six times in American history. After the Vice President, the order of presidential succession has been fixed as the Secretary of State, Secretary of Treasury, and so on in order of cabinet seniority.

Powers of the President Some of the President's powers have already been mentioned: the veto power, the appointing power, the power to call Congress in special session, and the power to make treaties. He has in addition a number of others equally important. These include:

(1) *Commander of the Army and Navy* The power to declare war is vested in Congress, but the President can bring on war as well as end it by his military authority. President Polk sent troops into Mexico and the Mexican War resulted. Wilson sent the army into Mexico in 1915. Cleveland sent troops to Chicago in the Pullman Strike of 1894. This authority is not limited.

(2) *Foreign Relations* The President sends and receives diplomatic representatives. This gives him the power of recognition. President Franklin D. Roosevelt received the representative of Soviet Russia (U.S.S.R.) and thereby extended recognition to a country not recognized by Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. This power rests in the hands of the President alone.

¹At present most electors are chosen "at-large." That is, the candidate with a plurality gets all the electoral votes from that state. This has done two things: (1) It has resulted in minority elections. For example, Harrison defeated Cleveland in 1888 in electoral votes, although Cleveland led in popular votes. (2) It discourages minor parties. They can seldom carry any states. The electoral vote would register the true sentiment of the voters if the proposed amendment should be adopted.

²Unless Theodore Roosevelt's candidacy in 1912 should be so considered.

He may also dismiss the representative of a foreign power and so "break off" relations. This Wilson did in February, 1917, two months before we were declared at war with Germany.

(3) *Messages to Congress* The Constitution provides for messages "on the state of the Union" and all Presidents have sent suggestions to Congress once a year, or oftener. These messages are sometimes general in character, often they recommend the passage of specific legislation. Of course, Congress is not obligated to follow the President's wishes. But it often does.

(4) *Administration of Laws* As chief executive the President supervises the enforcement of federal laws. Of course, this is done through subordinates, but the policies are set by him. He can give orders to "beat down" on income tax payers, liquor dealers, importers, and the like, or he can "let up" on them.

(5) *Removal* The President has the power to remove any appointive officer for cause. He does not need the consent of the Senate to do so, the Supreme Court has held that the power to remove is inherent in the executive power.

(6) *Pardon* This applies to all offenses "against the United States." It is a complete and unrestricted power. The President may pardon any federal prisoner or may change the sentence to a shorter term. The pardon may have the effect of restoring all citizenship rights to those who lost them on conviction of crime. Thus President Roosevelt on December 25, 1933, restored citizenship to several thousand "war objectors" who had served their terms.

The above list of powers is proof of the claim that the President is "the most powerful chief executive on earth." But in addition there must be added other large powers that are not mentioned by the Constitution. He gets these by virtue of his leadership in his party, by his patronage power, and by his prestige in the eyes and ears of the voters.

Presidential Leadership. Probably the most noteworthy characteristic of the actual workings of our federal government is the great role the President has come to play. This is not uniformly true of all recent Presidents. Some of our Presidents have been unable or unwilling to become leaders. But strong leadership has been notably true of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. These men have not only operated the execu-

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tive branch of the government; they have also controlled the legislative branch. During the first year of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's term, Congress almost did his bidding. No law passed Congress without his previous endorsement, no law which he specifically endorsed failed to pass.¹ The veto power has already



"WE THOUGHT YOU WERE GOING TO BE A PRACTICAL JOKER!"
Cartoonist Rollin Kirby depicts the use of the veto

been described. Mention has been made of the messages to Congress. The latter has been dramatically used by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has usually sent recommendations one at a time so that Congress may dispose of one item before another is brought up. He has frequently asked for rapid action. "It is important that this legislation be enacted by the middle of next week," he is reported to have said in regard to monetary legislation and the Civil

¹Of course, this was in part due to the economic emergency. The members of Congress were as bewildered by the ravages of the depression as were the people. But much of the overwhelming support Congress granted the President came because of patronage and because of the President's prestige.

Works appropriations And the laws were passed What are the "extra-legal" powers of the President? Where does he get them? They arise out of (1) patronage, (2) party leadership, and (3) prestige

Patronage. Despite the growth of the civil service method of selecting federal employees, there are thousands of federal office-holders who are selected by the President alone, by the President with the approval of the Senate, or by heads of departments In many cases the Civil Service Commission certifies three persons for a position, and the President or department head chooses one of the three So the number of jobs to be given out is quite large¹ They include ambassadors, ministers, consuls and their aids, federal judges, marshals, attorneys and court clerks, tax collectors and inspectors, and members of boards and commissions, legal and economic advisers, department and bureau chiefs and their assistants, and first, second, and third class postmasters

It is evident that neither the President nor the department heads could make first-hand selections for 100,000 jobs The practice is to work through the Congressmen, if they are of the President's party, if not, through other party sources It means that each Representative will be consulted about 100 or more jobs and each Senator about perhaps 1,000 These jobs mean much to him in keeping his power in his own district It is not likely that the President or his spokesman says bluntly that a Congressman will lose the right to assist in dispensing patronage unless he supports the President's measures Nevertheless it is well understood that this is the case There have been dozens of examples Representative McFadden of Pennsylvania, a Republican, was denied patronage "rights" because of attacking President Hoover's debt moratorium in 1931 This whole system is facilitated by selecting one person, usually the postmaster-general, as the "patronage dispenser"

Party Leadership. As will be seen in Chapter 22, the party system plays a large part in the functioning of the government The President is often, although not always, the real head of his party He usually dominates the national party committee Sometimes he has even been able to change the party leadership in the states and

¹ On June 30, 1933 there were 565,432 non-military employees of the federal government of which number 456,096 were under Civil Service That means the patronage power extends to from 100,000 to 125,000 jobs

large cities. Thus President Hoover planned to get the La Follettes out of control of the Republican party in Wisconsin. President Franklin D. Roosevelt has fought Tammany control of the Democratic party in New York. In Congress the party organization often "whips" Congressmen into line or tries to. In 1925 the Republican party actually "read out of the party" a group of Congressmen who had been "disloyal."

Prestige. The office of President is so important in the public mind, and his powers of molding public opinion through the press and the radio are so large, that his prestige is very great. It is likely that with the use of the radio it is now larger than ever. In 1933 President Roosevelt gave a series of Sunday night "fireside talks" to the American people. In fifteen minutes he sketched, in very general but persuasive terms, the broad outlines of his policy. Well-written, well-delivered, they added greatly to his prestige.¹ But there are other ways. The press representatives in recent years have written, whatever have been their private opinions, columns and columns of "White House publicity," much of it the work of clever administration press agents. The press adulation of President Coolidge was very striking. The same newspapers went into ecstasies over President Roosevelt.¹ Some Congressmen like to be invited to the White House. Their wives like it too. Tactful dinner invitations at the right time have sometimes saved presidential policies. Recent Presidents have even held "White House breakfasts!"

Opposition to the President. Many people have questioned this drift toward presidential power. While it does seem to bring concentration of authority and responsibility, which is good, it also needs the safety-check of a strong opposition. An intelligent opposition group in Congress, critical, outspoken, and skeptical of the presidential policies, is a good force. It will uncover graft and corruption, it will detect incompetence, and will be a wise measure of control. The opposition party is expected to supply this. It is important that it have the free use of the press, the radio, and as far as possible, the right to be heard in Congress.

The Cabinet. Congress has from time to time created departments, four at first, gradually extended until there are now ten. The heads of each department (secretaries), meet with the President

¹These were also made in talking pictures and heard by millions of people

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weekly or oftener in unofficial, often informal, cabinet meetings. These departments and their work are as follows:

(1) *State* The ranking member of the cabinet is the Secretary of State. The work of the department includes all matters relating to foreign affairs. Its two chief branches are the Diplomatic Service, which includes the ambassadors, ministers, and their aids, and the Consular Service. The latter consists of persons looking after American interests in about 160 foreign cities. The State Department carries on all correspondence with other governments, negotiates treaties or assists the special treaty commission, and advises the President on the exercise of his large diplomatic powers.

(2) *Treasury* The collecting of taxes and the disbursing of public money are vital functions of this department. There is also the supervision of currency and national banks. Miscellaneous functions assigned to it include the Public Health Service, the Mint, the Bureau of Printing and Engraving, Supervising Architect's Office, and the Secret Service. In 1921 the very important Budget Bureau was formed. This organization has resulted in sweeping reforms in the handling of federal funds and in the preparation of estimates of expenditures.

(3) *War* The army, the national guard, the ROTC,¹ and West Point are branches of the work of this department. There is also the C M T C (Citizen's Military Training Corps) which conducts summer training camps for young men. The War Department also has a bureau of rivers and harbors and does considerable engineering and maintenance work in connection with fortifications and waterways.

(4) *Justice* The Attorney-General is the chief prosecuting officer for the government and, with his subordinates, represents the government in all litigation. The department also supervises the federal prisons. In 1934 this department became very active in leading a nation-wide drive to apprehend the country's most notorious criminals. In this work the federal government was far more successful than state and local governments have generally been.

(5) *Postoffice* The Postmaster-General is the head of the postal system. Since most federal appointments are in this department it has become customary to let it be headed by the chief dispenser of

¹ Reserve Officers Training Corps. This organization conducts military training in a large number of high schools and colleges at federal expense.

patronage. Every President since McKinley has named to this office the man who managed his presidential campaign. Despite the politics used in choosing the head of this department and in selecting several thousand local postmasters, the rank and file of postal employees are selected through the Civil Service. They do the work and do it unusually well.

(6) *Navy* The navy, which includes the Marine Corps, constitutes this department. Since the navy is our "first line of defense," it has usually been given rather generous appropriations.

(7) *Interior* This consists of a number of unrelated bureaus which have been put under one cabinet officer. Some of them are (a) Indian Affairs, (b) Education, (c) Geological Survey, (d) Reclamation, and (e) National Parks. The growth of interest in national conservation and planning has given this department a new challenge and a new prestige. Whatever long-range planning our federal government undertakes will logically be undertaken with the assistance of this department.

(8) *Agriculture* The work in aiding agriculture has been very large in recent years. It includes the Weather Bureau, the Forest Service, Public Roads, Food and Drugs, as well as a number of bureaus purely agricultural. Some of the services of this department will be discussed later (Chapters 11 and 15).

(9) *Commerce* A number of services related to business are grouped in this department. Some of the important bureaus are (a) Patent Office, (b) Mines, (c) Navigation, (d) Lighthouses, (e) Fisheries, (f) Census, (g) Standards, and (h) Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

(10) *Labor* The youngest department is the Department of Labor which includes the work of immigration and naturalization, employment service, labor statistics, children's work, and the women's bureau.

It has been proposed to add other departments to the Cabinet. The National Education Association wants a Department of Education. Others suggested have been Aeronautics, Peace, Highways, Health, and Public Welfare.

Independent Boards and Commissions A number of administrative functions have been assigned to boards or commissions. These are called "independent" because they are not connected with any of the administrative departments. All told there were seventy-

seven of these special boards listed in the 1935 Congressional Directory. We shall examine the most important.

(1) *Commissioners for the District of Columbia.* The government of the national capital is in the hands of three men, one an army engineer, selected by the President. They recommend to Congress any needed legislation for the District. However, their chief duties are administrative, that is, to keep order, to supervise the city services, schools, parks, streets and so on, and to control city property.

(2) *Civil Service Commission.* Created in 1883, these three commissioners supervise the merit system used in selecting federal appointees. The procedure is for the Commission to *certify* to the various departments the persons who *qualify* for the positions. In 1933 there were 456,096 civil service employees. However, the plan should be extended, it has always had good results.

(3) *Interstate Commerce Commission.* When set up in 1887 this was the first federal regulation of private business. The eleven members of this commission fix the rates for "common carriers engaged in interstate commerce," principally railroads. They also regulate the service rendered, the safety plans used, the passes given, and the securities issued.

(4) *Federal Reserve Board.* The eight members of this commission exercise general supervision over the banking policies of the twelve federal reserve banks.

(5) *Federal Trade Commission.* This board investigates business practices, particularly of corporations, and prevents "unfair methods of competition," and "combinations in restraint of trade."

(6) *United States Tariff Commission.* This group has power only to "advise" Congress and the President. Studies are constantly being made as to the effects and desirability of certain tariff rates.

(7) *Federal Power Commission.* This is a relatively new board, whose function it is to investigate the power problem particularly as it pertains to power uses of navigable rivers.

(8) *Federal Communications Commission.* This body supervises all interstate communication whether by radio, telegraph, or telephone.

(9) Other boards include the Board of Mediation, the Aeronautical Board, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Commission on Fine Arts.

A very large number of recovery agencies created by the Roosevelt Administration in 1933 are independent boards or administrators, not attached to any cabinet department. Thus the FHIA (Federal Housing Administration) and the TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) are, with many others, to be added to the above list.¹

Reorganization. There have been a large number of proposals to simplify the complexity of our federal administration. These date back to the Commission on Economy and Efficiency chosen by President Taft in 1910. Some co-ordination has been achieved through the Budget Bureau. In 1933 President Roosevelt was given authority to effect such a reorganization. A thorough overhauling of the departments seems to be needed.

Personnel. The Civil Service System has done more than to check patronage and give security of tenure, important as these are. It has also aided in the selection of well-trained men for the federal service. This is done through the tests used for certain positions and through the qualifications set up for even taking the tests. For example, there are statisticians employed in the Census Bureau who must pass a rigorous test on the use of indices, coefficients of correlation, and other statistical devices, and no one can even take the test without at least a Master's Degree. The number of persons holding Ph.D. degrees in the federal service is high.

Some of these experts are not civil service appointees but bureau chiefs, under secretaries, economists, advisers, and assistants. Although they are appointive they have made themselves indispensable because of their expert knowledge. Thus A. T. Adee was second Assistant Secretary of State for thirty-six years under seven Presidents. Miss Grace Abbott was an official of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor from 1917 to 1934. Joseph B. Eastman, since 1919 a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is a recognized authority on railroads. Professor Taussig of Harvard, author of three fine books on American tariffs, was once on the United States Tariff Commission. In 1933 President Roosevelt employed such a large number of experts, especially from the colleges, that this inner circle of advisers was called the "brain trust." There were scholars from Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Cornell, New York University, and other colleges. This was the employment of the expert on a large scale.

¹See Chapters 15 and 17.

JUDICIAL BRANCH

Federal Courts. There are three levels of regular federal courts, district courts, circuit courts of appeals, and the Supreme Court. There are also three special courts, the Court of Claims, the Customs Court, and Court of Customs and Patent Appeals. The work of the regular federal courts is as follows:

(1) *District Courts.* There are about 150 federal district judges, one or more holding court in every state. To them all federal cases are first taken: counterfeiting, mail robberies, bankruptcies, and patent suits.

(2) *Circuit Courts of Appeals.* There are ten judicial circuits, each supervised by a Supreme Court justice. These courts have no *original jurisdiction*, that is, no cases originate in them, only appeals from the district courts. They exist to relieve the pressure on the Supreme Court.

(3) *The Supreme Court.* Nine justices form this powerful body. It has original jurisdiction in cases involving treaties, foreign relations, and suits between states. It has *appellate jurisdiction* from all other federal courts and in cases involving the federal Constitution and laws which come from the Supreme Courts of the forty-eight states and the territories. Its power in interpreting the Constitution has already been noted. Since 1910 the Court has come more than ever in the public eye, partly because of the importance of its decisions, and partly because of its personnel. When President Wilson surprised the country by selecting a brilliant Jewish lawyer, Louis D. Brandeis, to the Court, he laid the foundation for this interesting situation. Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was already on the Court, believed in holding the law adaptable to new economic and social conditions.¹ They are apt to consider human rights more important than property rights. They are usually joined in this point of view by Justice Stone, former Dean of the Columbia University Law School. These three, Brandeis, Stone, and Cardozo, are often called "progressives." Four judges are classed as "conservatives", they are Justices Van Devanter, Sutherland, Butler, and McReynolds. In between these two groups stand

¹ In 1932 Justice Holmes retired and was succeeded by Benjamin Cardozo, another "progressive."

Chief Justice Hughes and Justice Roberts. This division of the Court has resulted in a number of close decisions. Some important cases have been

1918. *Hammer v Dagenhart*. This was the first child labor case when the court held by a five to four vote that Congress could not prohibit child labor. In this case the "progressives" were in the minority.

1928. *The O'Fallon Case*. This was said to be "the greatest law suit in history" because, while it involved the valuation of a very small railroad, the technique of valuation set up by the Interstate Commerce Commission would make the total valuation of all railroads in the country several billion dollars less than the railroads claimed. The railroads wished their value set as high as possible so that they could be granted high rates and so that their earnings would appear to be low. The railroads won by a five to three decision with Justices Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone in the minority.

1928. *The Schwimmer Case*. By a six to three vote the Court upheld the denial of citizenship to Rozika Schwimmer because she refused to promise to bear arms. Justices Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone dissented. (See Chapter 9.)

1928. *The MacIntosh Case*. This was a similar question, this time concerning an application for citizenship by a Canadian, a professor of theology at Yale, with an honorable World War record. He did not refuse to bear arms but merely wished to reserve the right to decide in his own conscience whether he would or not in the event of war. The decision which denied him citizenship was a five to four vote with Justices Holmes, Brandeis, Stone, and Chief Justice Hughes in the minority.

1935. *The Gold Cases*. The Court held that Congress was free to alter the currency in any way deemed desirable, existing contracts to the contrary notwithstanding. This decision was a blow to some bondholders who sought to receive \$1.69 in paper money for each \$1.00 owed them in gold, inasmuch as Congress had called in all the gold in 1933 and had devalued the dollar 41 per cent. This decision was a five to four vote with Justices Hughes, Brandeis, Stone, Roberts, and Cardozo in the majority, and Justices Van Devanter, Butler, Sutherland, and McReynolds on the losing side.

So many cases have been decided by close decisions that it has

been proposed that the power of judicial review be taken away from the Court. La Follette in 1924 advocated that Congress might override a Supreme Court decision by a two-thirds vote as with a presidential veto. Senator Borah has suggested a requirement of seven judges to declare a law unconstitutional. In view of the fact that there are many people who believe that some curtailment of the Court's power should be made, one may expect continued discussion of this question.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 Review the division of powers between the federal and state governments discussed in Chapter 6
- 2 What specific powers have been delegated to the federal government?
- 3 What is the significance of the so-called "necessary and proper" clause?
- 4 Explain the organization of the law-making bodies of the federal government
- 5 What steps are followed in the enactment of a federal law?
- 6 What are the three special functions of the Senate?
- 7 What is meant by impeachment?
- 8 Explain the work of a party caucus
- 9 Who are the party leaders in Congress? What is their work?
- 10 What are the important committees in each house? What is the work of each?
- 11 What rules regulate debate in each house?
- 12 What has been the importance of Congressional investigations? Cite some important recent investigations
- 13 How is the President chosen? What arguments are given in favor of abolishing the electoral college? Can you think of any reason for retaining it? Explain
- 14 List and explain the special powers of the President as given in the Constitution of the United States. Explain other powers of the President
- 15 Explain the work of each of the departments represented in the Cabinet. Explain the work of each of the special boards and commissions given in the chapter
- 16 What has been done to promote a reorganization of the administrative departments? Discuss the personnel of the administrative departments
- 17 What are the three levels of federal courts? Explain the work of each

- 18 What is the significance of the division between progressives and conservatives in the Supreme Court? Who are the conservative judges? The progressive judges? Which judges are in the "middle of the road"?
- 19 What proposals are being made to eliminate the so-called one man decisions of the Court? Explain the importance of this problem

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Do you believe that Congressional investigations are justified? Explain
- 2 Is the growing power of the President detrimental to the welfare of the nation? Explain and discuss pro and con
- 3 Question for panel discussion: Should a vote of seven judges be made necessary before the Supreme Court can declare a law unconstitutional?
- 4 What is the "brain trust"? Do you believe it should be used? Why?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 How many electoral votes are allotted to your state? What was the popular vote for President in the last presidential election? If the electors, instead of casting their ballots solidly for the majority candidate pro rated them among the candidates according to the popular vote, what would have been the result of the electoral vote in your state?
- 2 Who is the Representative from your district and who are the Senators from your state? Look up their biographies as given in your state political manual or in the *Congressional Directory*. How long has each served in Congress? Upon what committee does each of them serve? What seniority ranking do they have on their committees? Have any of them made outstanding contributions in any special field of legislation? Explain

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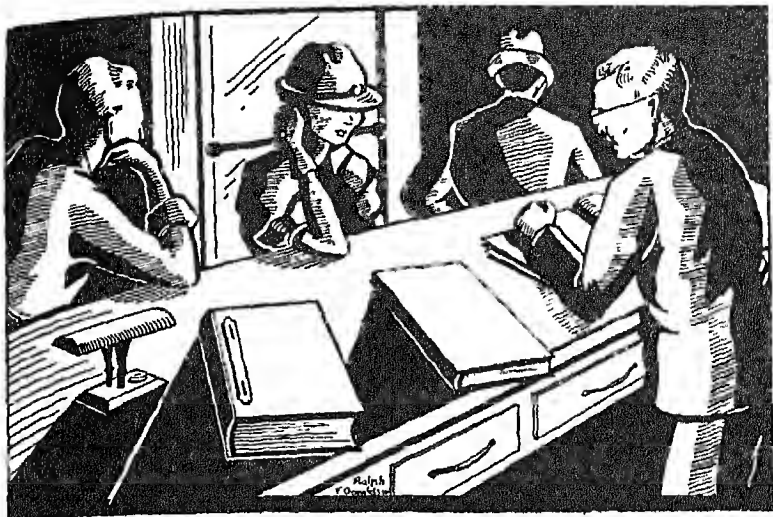
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Chapter 8 FINANCING THE GOVERNMENT

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To state the purposes of taxation
- 2 To indicate how taxation has been increasing
- 3 To explain the types of taxes used
- 4 To show how taxation can be improved

MAYOR DANIEL HOAN of Milwaukee opens an essay on taxes¹ with the following anecdote:

A few months ago I received a letter from a prominent textile mill owner of Shelby, N. C., in which he praised Milwaukee's financial condition, but raised what he regarded as a "serious objection." He pointed out that his town of 10,000 population has a tax rate of only \$13 per thousand, while Milwaukee's rate is \$25.96 per thousand. He concluded, "I would not want to have our plant located in your town."

In answering this letter I made the following observation:

"I will concede that Milwaukee is not boasting of first place on the matter of tax rates. Neither can Shelby. This honor goes to a little village called Hottentot in the Philippine Islands. From what I can learn, the only tax collected there is one ounce of tobacco from each of the inhabitants to pay the yearly salary of the mayor. His only function is to preside as chief potentate in the annual beauty contest and hula-hula dance."

¹ *Taxes and Tax Dodgers*, p. 1. Quoted by permission of the author.

"I wish to say that it is my position that *civilization may be judged by the amount of service that the people in a community demand*, and what they can afford to pay for, and not by how low a tax rate they have. If we make claim for prestige among cities, it is because we give more public service for the dollar than any other city in the country, and we are doing so at a tax rate far below the average of American cities."

The above incident illustrates fundamentally different concepts of government. One regards government as a necessary evil, while the other views it as an instrument for public service.

There seems to be no escape from the conclusion that if the citizen wants an orderly government, and if, as we shall see, he demands that it shall perform costly services, there will need to be taxes.

COST OF GOVERNMENT

The very large increase in public expenditures since 1890 and particularly since 1913 is shown in the following table:

	GOVERNMENTAL EXPENDITURES (in millions)			
	Federal	State	Local	Total
1890	\$ 374	\$ 96	\$ 405	\$ 875
1913	668	300	1,219	2,187
1923	3,032	917	3,285	7,234
1929	3,328	1,631	4,833	9,792
1933	3,865	2,207	4,700	10,772
1935	3,763*	2,300 (Est)	4,500 (Est)	10,563 (Est)

* This is for "ordinary" expenses. The "emergency" expenditures total \$4,880,000,000 more, a part of which will be repaid through loans or self-liquidating projects.

It will be seen that all governments increased their expenditures in about the same proportion. Further studies reveal that this increase is common to all sections of the United States. This rapid increase has alarmed a number of persons who think that the tax burden is becoming unbearably heavy.

In the first place, the increase is actually not as great as indicated by the above figures. The country's population has increased so that upon a per capita basis government expenditures have not increased twelve times but only seven times. In addition the value of the dollar has declined. The per capita expenditures based on 1913 dollars are about as follows:

1890	\$17 26
1913	27 66
1923	45 01
1929	58 26
1933	90 00
1935	88 00 (Est.)

This is an increase of slightly more than five times. But that there has been a great increase no one can deny.

What have been the causes of this increase? Former Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon listed in addition to the points mentioned above, the following reasons: (1) the World War, (2) higher standards of government activity, and more congested living, and (3) the increase of government functions.

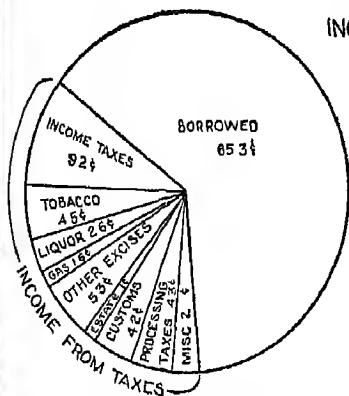
1. **The World War.** The World War left us with a record-breaking debt on which the interest in 1935 was over \$800,000,000. In addition almost that much was spent on veterans' care and allowances. When all World War costs are added the annual bill comes to nearly \$2,000,000,000. This item will not decrease substantially for many years but is likely, due to the payments of a bonus and pensions to veterans, actually to rise.

The following table shows the expenditures of the federal government for the fiscal year 1931-1935 by departments:

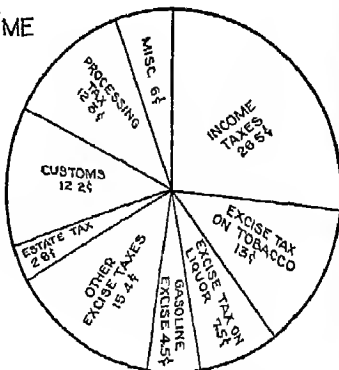
State	\$ 11,036,000
Treasury	98,170,000
War	231,015,000
Justice	31,178,000
Post-office deficit	9,011,000
Navy	310,130,000
Interior	13,815,000
Agriculture	5,167,000
Commerce	38,131,000
Labor	13,831,000
Veterans' Bureau	538,948,000
Interest on debt	871,340,000
Public debt retirement	515,735,000
Legislative and Executive offices	19,111,000
Agricultural Adjustment administration	750,711,000
Miscellaneous ordinary expenditures	181,017,000
Total ordinary	\$3,763,176,000
Emergency expenses	1,880,000,000
	\$5,643,176,000

FEDERAL INCOME and EXPENDITURES - 1934

SOURCES of INCOME

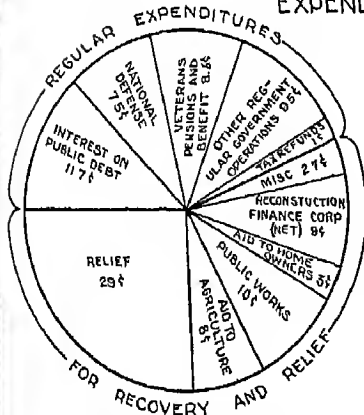


ALL REVENUE
including taxes and
borrowed funds

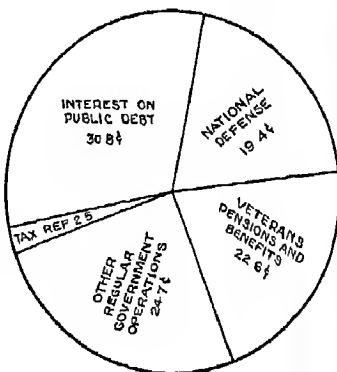


REVENUE FROM TAXES ONLY
This meets all ordinary expenditures of the federal government

EXPENDITURES



ALL EXPENDITURES
regular, and for
recovery and relief,



ORDINARY EXPENDITURES ONLY
These and the regular taxes
above practically balanced

One will observe that such federal departments as State, Labor, and Interior spend insignificantly small sums of money when contrasted with our war expenditures, War, Navy, Veterans' Bureau, and interest on the public debt

2. **Higher Standard of Government Activity.** The higher standards of government activity in the federal government are reflected in the higher wages paid to government employees, the much improved work of the Forestry Service, the Indian Bureau, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Health, and many others. There has also been more effective government service in state and local governments. The growth of cities demands larger police and fire departments, more parks and playgrounds, and many free services not provided in former years. One author has expressed it by showing that it costs more to govern one city of 50,000 than it does two cities of 25,000.¹

3. **The Increase of Governmental Functions.** There has been an increase in governmental functions which has aroused considerable controversy. Some of the new functions are

(1) *Highways.* The states alone spend nearly a billion dollars a year and the federal and local governments together add a billion more. This has tremendously increased since auto owners increased in number and began to demand surfaced roads.

(2) *Education.* About \$2,000,000,000 a year is spent on the education of the 29,000,000 persons enrolled in our public schools. There has been a tremendous increase in attendance. There has been an extension of newer types of schools, junior colleges, nursery schools, city colleges, and adult education.² But in spite of these factors the amount of money actually spent on education has increased very slightly.

(3) *Aids to Business and Agriculture.* The air-mail subsidies, the farm relief expenditures, the United States Shipping Board, the work of the Department of Commerce, and similar activities have been expanded.³

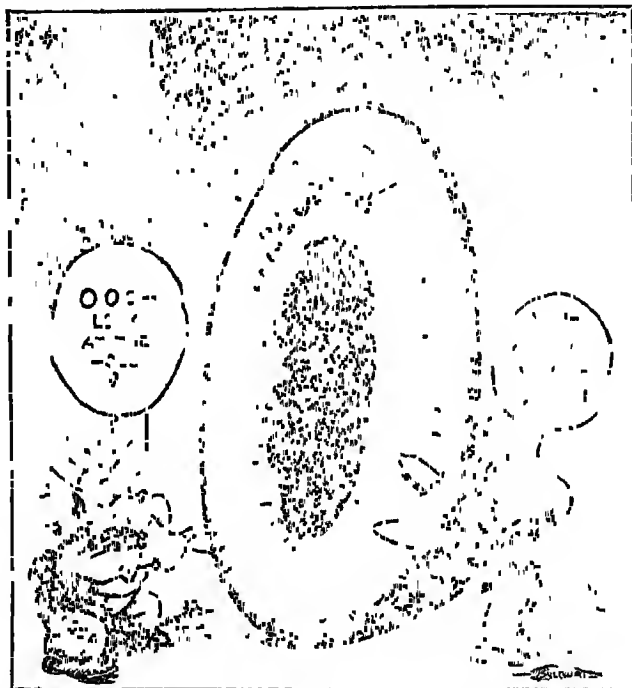
The Move for Reduction. A large number of organizations exist for the purpose of reducing government expenditures. There is the

¹ See *Recent Social Trends*, p. 136.

² See Chapter 13.

³ See Chapter 15.

National Economy League, and the National Organization for the Reduction of Public Expenditures. There are taxpayers' leagues in thousands of communities. Their chief attacks on federal and state expenditures have been on the increased government functions, government aid of various sorts, and the salaries of public



Courtesy Pittsburgh Press

AFTER ALL THERE ARE TWO WAYS OF LOOKING AT A DOUGHNUT

employees, the "bureaucrats," as they are called. Some of their leaders have at heart often been more interested in "getting the government out of business," as they sometimes say, than in getting taxes reduced.¹ However, much of the burden of the attack on local expenditures has fallen on the schools.

This movement to reduce expenditures may do great good by concentrating attention on the waste of tax money which goes on through graft and inefficiency. However, the prospects are for a

¹ See Chapters 11 and 15

general increase in public expenditures. The factors which have caused the increase since 1890 are likely to continue to operate. New functions will probably be added, for example, various types of social insurance. The expenditures of most European governments are higher than those of the United States. Figures compiled for 1924-1925 show that the public expenditures represent the following in percentages of national income:¹

	Per Cent
Germany	29.21
England	24.77
France	20.01
United States	11.06

There is every indication that public expenditures will continue to rise.

FEDERAL TAXES

The federal government derived its revenue in the year ending June 30, 1935, about as follows:

Corporation income tax	\$ 665,000,000
Individual income tax	600,000,000
Excises (tobacco, liquor, gasoline, etc.)	1,403,000,000
Import duties (tariffs)	382,000,000
Estates tax	117,000,000
Miscellaneous (including processing taxes)	807,000,000
	<hr/>
	\$3,971,000,000

Let us examine each of these federal taxes.

Income Taxes. In normal years the income taxes have supplied a large share of federal funds. The tax on corporation incomes is a flat rate of $13\frac{3}{4}$ per cent of the *net income* of all corporations. The net income is computed according to rules laid down so as to make the tax fair. Corporations which show no net income in any year pay no tax that year. The tax on personal net incomes has *exemptions* of \$1,000 for single persons, \$2,500 for married persons, and \$400 for each dependent. The rates are *progressive*, ranging from 4 per cent on the first \$1,000 of taxable income to 63 per cent on that part of any person's income over \$1,000,000.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 21: 842

No person's tax actually reaches 63 per cent because of the exemptions on the first part and the lower rates on the first \$1,000,000.

To see how our federal income tax works let us take the case of Mr. Pollard, who is married, has two dependent children, and receives an income of \$6,000 a year. In the first place he is allowed to make a number of deductions in order to compute his *net income*. These deductions include donations to charity, interest paid out, bad debts, and losses of various sorts. Then he is allowed an exemption of \$3,300 before finding his *taxable income*. Here is a sample of the summary of Mr. Pollard's tax return:

Total income	\$6,000
Deductions—Church donations	\$200
Other donations	100
Bad debts	150
Other losses	50
	<hr/>
Total deductions	500
	<hr/>
Net income	\$5,500
Exemption (married, two children)	3,300
	<hr/>
Taxable income	\$2,200
Tax at 4 per cent	\$ 88

This return must be filed each year by March 15 and the tax paid then or quarterly, in March, June, September, and December.

The rates and the exemptions have changed from time to time. During the war there were higher rates and lower exemptions than the present ones. After the war the exemptions were higher and the rates were lower. The income tax is not popular as a rule among wealthy people. They say that it "stifles initiative," that it is hard to administer, and can be easily evaded, and that it is unstable. In support of the first objection, they claim that any tax which takes over half of a man's income will discourage him to the point of his becoming lazy and indifferent. Of course only a few taxpayers ever pay half their income in taxes. One's income must be very large for this to happen. While it must be very unpleasant to turn over heavy taxes to the government, yet the taxpayer always has a good deal left. While the government does take 63¢ of every \$1.00 earned over \$1,000,000, most men will continue to work for the other 37¢.

The second objection is more valid. The tax has been grossly evaded. The gaps need to be filled up. One of the gaps is the issuance of tax-exempt bonds. While the government does save interest by making bonds tax-exempt, the evidence is that it would be better to pay more interest and receive more taxes. Another gap is the provision for the deduction of capital losses. Incidentally this is one big reason for the income tax's instability. Capital losses, that is losses from the sale of real estate and securities, should offset only against capital gains. It was by this sort of loophole that J. P. Morgan, Charles Mitchell, and others paid no income taxes during the depression. Other administrative changes would further strengthen the law. But income taxes will be unstable as long as income is unstable. So we must accumulate surpluses in good times to make up deficits in bad times or use some other tax. At present our federal government combines income taxes with excises, one for justice perhaps, and one for stability. A comparison of our federal income tax with that of European countries shows how much lower ours is than theirs.

COMPARISON OF INCOME TAX (1933)

(Married Person, No Dependents)

Net Income	U S	England	France	Germany
\$ 1,000	00	\$ 8 80	\$ 33 80	\$ 70 00
2,000	00	111 40	170 20	316 80
3,000	21 00	311 10	366 00	513 30
5,000	100 00	711 40	857 50	1,070 50
10,000	480 00	1,862 00	2,525 00	2,080 00
25,000	2,512 00	7,367 50	9,510 00	9,045 00
50,000	8,600 00	10,650 00	23,715 00	22,565 00
100,000	30,100 00	18,100 00	53,650 00	47,410 00

This shows that we could if necessary lower our exemptions and raise our rates.

The income tax has always been favored by progressive groups who favor it chiefly because it is based upon "ability to pay" while it might also be used as a means of redistributing wealth. It was only after agitation lasting more than a generation that our federal government adopted it. Conservative business groups have usually opposed the income tax preferring that excise taxes and sales taxes be used.

Excises. Chief of these is the stamp tax on tobacco, a tax which

yields about one-half billion dollars annually. There are also taxes on theater admissions, club dues, gasoline, security transfers, cosmetics, furs, autos, electricity, liquor, and many other selected commodities. Some of these are luxury or nuisance taxes, but their main purpose is the raising of revenue. During the depression, when income tax receipts fell off sharply, excises formed the chief source of federal revenue.

Import Duties. These taxes, often called tariffs, were the principal source of United States revenue up until the adoption of the income tax during the World War. The Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930 listed several thousand articles that are taxed when imported. Some of the rates are *specific*, such as 4¢ a gallon on oil, and \$1.12½ per ton on pig iron. Others are *ad valorem*, such as lace goods which are taxed at 60 per cent of their value. Some are *mixed* specific and *ad valorem*. Many of the rates are protective, that is, they are deliberately placed so high as to keep foreign goods out. These bring in little or no revenue. Others are low enough to permit importation. The largest revenue-getter of them all is the tax on sugar, about 2¢ a pound, which brings in annually over \$100,000,000.

Estate Tax. The federal government taxes the estate of a deceased person before the estate has been divided among the heirs. There is an exemption of \$50,000, and the rates are progressive from 1 per cent on the first part to 45 per cent on that part of any estate which exceeds \$10,000,000. The rates, while not extraordinarily high, have been called burdensome by persons who also have to pay state inheritance taxes. So the system of federal credits has been instituted. If the heirs pay state inheritance taxes they are permitted to use these receipts to cancel up to 80 per cent of the federal tax. This tax, like the income tax, has been favored by progressives and opposed by conservatives. The arguments for and against it are similar to those used in debating the income tax.

STATE TAXES

General Property Tax. This is the leading form of revenue for states—yielding about one-fourth of all state revenues. In some states such as Arizona it produces as much as three-fourths of state revenue, while in others it is used hardly at all. Illinois changed in

1934 from deriving about 29 per cent of its revenue from the general property tax to using it not at all, substituting the sales tax. Since the property tax is used to finance 92 per cent of the expenditures of all local governments it will be described in detail below. It is gradually becoming less important as a tax for state purposes.

Automobile Taxes. There are two forms of taxing automobiles: (1) motor vehicle licenses, and (2) gasoline taxes. Both of these forms are now used by every state. The vehicle licenses vary from \$3.00 to \$37.50 in different states on passenger cars with higher rates on trucks and buses. The amount of the license depends in different states on horse power, weight, piston displacement, or value. With over 25,000,000 auto licenses in the United States each year, the yield reaches about one-fifth of all state revenue. An equal or even larger amount is raised by the gasoline tax. The rates vary from 2¢ a gallon in New York and Connecticut to 7¢ a gallon in Tennessee. The average is about 3½¢. Both of these taxes are used chiefly to build and maintain roads, particularly state highways. However, some states have used a portion of the gasoline tax receipts for other purposes.

Business Taxes. Bringing to the states about one-sixth of their revenue are a variety of license or franchise taxes on various businesses. These include taxes on: (1) corporation capital stock, (2) trust companies, (3) banks, (4) insurance companies (used by almost every state), and (5) gross or net income on corporations. Thus Illinois has a tax on organizing a corporation, a tax on the privilege of doing business (paid annually by both domestic and foreign corporations), a tax on the gross receipts of the Illinois Central Railroad charter lines, a tax on all insurance premiums collected, and so on. Twenty-five states now tax all corporations on either net or gross income. This form of corporation tax is growing.

State Income Taxes. Twenty-seven states in 1935 were using the state income tax, two of them on individuals only, one on corporations only, and the rest on the income of both individuals and corporations. This is twice as many as used the income tax in 1928. Several other states are at present considering it. In at least two others it has been enacted but declared unconstitutional. In New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, North Carolina, Delaware, Mis-

souri, and Virginia it produces a considerable portion of the revenue of the state. Like the federal income tax the state laws provide for exemptions and rates which are usually progressive. The rates are lower than the federal rates, usually reaching a maximum of not over 6 per cent. Provision is generally made for the deduction of federal income taxes paid in computing net income.

Inheritance Taxes. Every state except Nevada taxes inheritances. They yield about 10 per cent of all state revenues furnishing as high as 23 per cent of the state revenue in Massachusetts. State inheritance taxes usually differ from the federal estates tax in that they are taxes on the heirs based on the share each receives after the estate has been divided. Most of them classify heirs as (1) close relatives, (2) distant relatives, and (3) non-relatives. The exemptions are lower and the rates are higher for the latter groups. In no state do any rates exceed 20 per cent. The apparent overlapping between state and federal taxes is modified by the 80 per cent credit to which reference has already been made.

Sales Taxes. A number of states have for some time taxed the sales of particular articles, especially liquor and tobacco. Recently a number of states have enacted *general* sales taxes, taxes of 1, 2, or 3 per cent on all goods sold at retail. About half of the states now have such a tax, most of them enacted since 1929. The sales tax has aroused considerable controversy. The chief objections to it are that it is regressive, that is, that it bears more heavily on poor families than on the well-to-do, and that it is burdensome and unfair to the retail merchants. The first objection is demonstrated by the table on page 153. It can be seen that the poorest families pay the highest percentage of their income in taxes and the wealthier families, those most able to pay high taxes, pay less and less.

The sales tax is objected to by retail merchants because some of them are not able to shift the tax to the consumer but are forced to absorb it themselves. This is true particularly if the merchant is located in a city near another state which does not have a sales tax. Sometimes the merchant prefers to absorb the tax rather than raise his prices because he fears the higher prices will injure his sales. Because of these objections a great American tax expert once said, "The sales tax constitutes the last resort of countries

PERCENTAGE OF INCOME TAXED AND AMOUNT OF TAX PAID PER THOUSAND DOLLAR INCOME FOR FAMILIES AT DIFFERENT INCOME LEVELS

Annual Income Received	Percentage of Income Spent on Retail Purchases	Amount of Tax Paid per \$1,000 Income on 1 Per Cent, 2 Per Cent, and 3 Per Cent Sales Tax		
\$1,000 and under	60 0	\$6 00	\$1 18	\$18 27
\$1,000-\$2,000	58 6	5 86	11 72	17 58
\$2,000-\$3,000	49 4	4 94	9 88	14 85
\$3,000-\$5,000	42 9	4 29	8 58	12 87
\$5,000-\$10,000	39 3	3 93	7 86	11 70
\$10,000-\$25,000	31 7	3 17	6 34	9 51
\$25,000-\$50,000	22 2	2 22	4 44	6 66
\$50,000-\$100,000	18 4	1 84	3 68	5 52
\$100,000-\$150,000	15 5	1 55	3 10	4 65
\$150,000-\$300,000	12 1	1 21	2 42	3 63
\$300,000-\$500,000	4 2	.42	.84	1 26
\$500,000-\$1,000,000	2 5	.25	.50	.75
\$1,000,000 and over	1 0	.10	.20	.30

which find themselves in such fiscal difficulties that they must subordinate all other principles of taxation to that of adequacy."

On the other hand the sales tax does bring in the money. It has been the financial salvation of a number of states whose constitution forbids an income tax. It is probably better than excessively high tax rates upon property, especially in the states that have poor property tax assessments.

LOCAL TAXES

Local governments derive 92 per cent of their revenue from the general property tax and the rest from license and miscellaneous sources. The general property tax forms the chief support of cities, school districts, townships, counties, villages, and all other local units. The administration of it merits careful study.

Assessment. The assessing of property in most cases is in the hands of a township assessor, although a few places have county assessors. The assessor is all too often ignorant and untrained. He is frequently elected because of his political connections or by the desire to give him part-time employment. The technical task of accurately appraising real estate, buildings, and hundreds of kinds

of personal property should be in the hands of experts. The assessor makes out a schedule or list of property for each property owner. The taxpayer is usually required to swear to or to sign his assessment schedule. However, the frauds in assessment are notorious.

Poor assessments result in various types of inequalities.

(1) *Inequality between persons* The assessors have always given low assessments to some persons and high assessments to others. Identical houses in Chicago have been assessed at \$500 and \$2,450¹ respectively. These houses were built at the same time by the same contractors from identical specifications and were located on adjoining lots. The power to make high or low assessments has even been used for a kind of political blackmail, to get party support, campaign contributions, and similar favors.

(2) *Inequalities between districts* Wide differences between counties and even districts in the same county result from poor assessments. The 1931 assessment in Illinois revealed one county of 50,000 persons (Kankakee) with only nine watches and clocks on the tax books. A small neighboring county had 1,915. The same year down-state Illinois assessors found 106,713 pianos, while Cook County, with more people than down-state Illinois, had listed only 4,104. Down-state had 538,766 autos on the general property tax books and Cook County 18,713.² The Illinois Agricultural Association found that land was assessed at 30 per cent of its real value in some counties and 60 per cent in others. The state average was 37 per cent.

(3) *Inequalities between classes of property* The greatest failure of all in assessing property is the failure to assess personal property, especially stocks, bonds, mortgages, bank deposits, and other "intangibles." These things may be easily hidden. Even a conscientious assessor cannot locate them no matter how hard he tries. Most assessors do not try. Thus real estate (land and buildings) which cannot be hidden from the assessor, bears the great burden of taxation, personal property escapes with little or none. Honest taxpayers who report all their property are penalized so that the system becomes "a school for perjury, fostered by law." Actually tax rates are so high as to confiscate many savings, bonds, and investments, if these were honestly recorded and assessed. Because

¹ Simpson, H. D., *Tax Situation in Illinois*, pp. 65-68.

² The Secretary of State issued 1,430,673 licenses in Illinois that year.

of these and other inequalities it is proper to say that our usual property assessments have been unjust and unfair.¹

Levy. The various local and state governments figure what the tax rate of each government needs to be in order to raise the desired revenue. The rate levied by each government is so much for each \$100 of property. A sample of tax rates (for Bloomington, Illinois in 1933) follows:

State	\$ 50 per \$100
County	28 per \$100
Sanitary District	14 per \$100
Township	92 per \$100
City	1 31 per \$100
School	1 42 per \$100
<hr/>	
Total	\$4 90 per \$100

The taxpayer's bill is computed on the basis of these rates. If his assessed valuation were \$3,000, for example, his tax would be thirty times \$4 90 or \$147 00.

Collection. Property taxes are collected by county or township treasurers and the receipts pro-rated by them among the various governments. If not paid when due a penalty is added and eventually the property is sold to anyone who will pay the taxes. The original owner is usually given a few years to redeem it, if he wishes, by paying back taxes plus costs. Property on which no one will pay the taxes reverts to the state.

Improving the Property Tax. The tax on property presents the greatest of all tax problems. Some persons wish to abolish it, others wish to improve and retain it. The latter ought to be thoroughly tried. One method of improving property taxation is through *classification*. In some states real estate and personal property are classified as to type and use and either *assessed* at different rates or taxed differently. In Minnesota, for example, there is this plan of classification.

- (1) Iron ore assessed at 50 per cent
- (2) Household goods at 25 per cent
- (3) Farm land, live stock at 33⅓ per cent
- (4) Agricultural implements at 10 per cent
- (5) City land and all else at 40 per cent, except
- (6) Intangibles, which are taxed in other ways

¹In some states, notably Wisconsin, assessments have been somewhat better. Scientific methods of assessment will be studied later in this chapter.

In the states which have followed this plan there has always been an improvement in assessments. But this does not get at all the difficulties.

A much more important reform is *scientific assessment*. With the aid of tax maps, sales records, and card indexes of every piece of property with full data on each, the assessor can make a start toward fair assessments. In assessing urban land, *unit values* are fixed for each *front foot* of land in certain neighborhoods or on certain streets. Formulæ have been developed for applying these unit values to irregular lots, deep lots, shallow lots, and corners. If the unit value is set for a whole area and a set of uniform formulæ used for the whole city or state, the taxpayer can never be individually mistreated. The assessor has no power in the matter once unit values are determined. Every person in the district gets identical treatment. Similar techniques have been devised for assessing houses, hotels, and many other types of property.¹

The other necessary reform is in *administration*. The assessor should *not* be elected. As an expert he should be selected for his technical skill regardless of party or personal popularity. He should hold office for a longer term, probably during good service. His should be a year-round, full-time job, with an adequate salary to attract expert men. The assessing unit should be the county, if not an even larger unit. Assessment should be under the direct supervision of the State Tax Commission, which should have power to transfer assessors and remove them for cause. Possibly the Commission should appoint assessors, although this might be done by the county board. The civil service plan could be used here admirably.

It is likely that the property tax, improved as outlined above, can be made to work satisfactorily, especially for local revenues. Some states (notably Wisconsin) and cities (such as Cleveland) have already made progress. There is an additional reason for not abolishing the property tax altogether. Most landowners who now own land figured the taxes on their land into the price they paid.

¹ Assessor Jacobs of Chicago in 1932 called the hotel owners together to standardize personal property assessments. Class A hotels were to be assessed at \$125 per room, Class B at \$100, Class C at \$75, Class D at \$50, and Class E at \$25. Once the class is agreed on, deputy assessors have only to count the rooms. Some hotels actually asked for higher classifications for advertising purposes!

for it. Consequently, so long as the tax is not heavily increased and so long as the land does not depreciate in value, the tax does not mean any real burden. The income from the land may fall, as farm income fell from 1921 to 1933, but the tax system cannot be said to be responsible.

Federal, State, and Local Taxes. The federal government taxes estates and forty-seven states tax inheritances. Both tax incomes. States tax property, as do also local governments. This overlapping has produced a number of problems. What is a fair allocation of taxes to the various governments? What taxes should be reserved to the federal government? To the states? To local governments?

It is generally agreed that the property tax can best be used for local governments. If the state would develop other taxes, income, inheritance, business licenses and franchises, it might be possible to leave property taxes entirely to local governments. It seems wise for the state to supervise and administer the property tax, but the counties, cities, townships, and schools should have the revenue.

Income taxes, inheritance taxes, and excises (to whatever extent used) might be divided, as at present, between the federal government and the states. Problems of overlapping and administration would be solved if the federal government would undertake to administer and collect these taxes and give each state its share. This would be more efficient and more just. It would give considerable savings to the taxpayer. As in many other tax reforms there are constitutional difficulties in the way of achieving this.

What Is a Good Tax System? The *fiscal theory* of taxation is that a certain amount of money must be raised and any tax that will "get the money" is a good tax. Thus it is claimed that the tobacco tax must be a good tax simply because it yields nearly a half billion dollars a year. This theory makes no pretense of being fair or just. It is sound only for emergencies and should not be made the basis of our tax system.

The *benefit theory* is that each person should contribute toward the government in proportion as he benefits from the government. It sounds plausible and fair. But in practice there are two objections: (1) In many cases it is well-nigh impossible to measure the benefits, and (2) many people who need the services of government most are totally unable to pay for these services. No one can measure the exact benefit an ordinary citizen derives from the pay-

ment of pensions to veterans And how absurd it would be to charge the cost of pensions to the pensioners!

The general rule is that the benefit theory of taxation can and should be used when the benefit can be measured and the class benefited is not distressingly poor The auto taxes, especially the



Courtesy New York World Telegram

"SEE ANYTHING WRONG WITH THAT, UNCLE?"

gasoline tax, are the best cases of this sort The building of highways is to a large extent, and justly so, paid for by benefit taxes

The *ability-to-pay* theory, or the *faculty theory* as it is often called, has come to be the accepted principle Citizens should share in supporting their government according to their ability, as measured by wealth or, better, by income What this really means is justice A system should treat all persons fairly The property tax

was originally based upon this theory and, if all property could be assessed, would still be a fair measure. The income tax is better. Inheritance and estate taxes are also of this sort. The trend has been more and more toward taxes based upon this principle. One disadvantage is that all such taxes are unstable. They yield good revenues when incomes and values are high. They shrink in depression years.

The *socio-political* theory is the belief that taxes should be used to encourage desirable things, and to correct any sort of abuses. There was the 10 per cent tax on state bank notes by which the federal government abolished the undesirable practice of state banks printing paper money. Many of our tariff taxes have been levied to encourage manufacture rather than to bring in revenue. There is some element of this in the theory that the taxes on liquor and tobacco will discourage their use, although the rates are actually too low to accomplish much in this direction. Some people propose that the income and inheritance tax rates should be made high enough to prevent the existence of large fortunes. It may be that the tax system will be used more extensively in this way in the future.

Who Pays Taxes? "Everyone pays taxes" we are told. Of course not all people pay direct taxes. Mr. Pollard made out his income tax return and paid to the federal government a direct tax. He probably also paid directly to his county treasurer his general property tax. Some people each year pay inheritance and estate taxes. Nearly everyone pays numerous indirect taxes. When the citizen buys sugar the price includes the tariff tax of 2¢ a pound and sometimes also a state sales tax. When he buys a ticket costing more than 40¢ to a theatre or other amusement he pays a tax of 10 per cent. If he buys tobacco in any form he is taxed. Many taxes appear in almost invisible forms. The landlord attempts to put his tax onto the rent, the businessman onto the prices, the manufacturer the same, and so on. Students of public finance call the final burden of the tax the *incidence*. However they have not found it to rest entirely on the ultimate consumer. Sometimes the manufacturer and the merchant shift it to the consumer but in other cases this is impossible. The merchant cannot always raise the price of the taxed article and sell it. The landlord cannot always boost the rent when his taxes rise. This question is very important in

regard to the general sales tax. This is usually, in reality, a tax upon both the consumer and the merchant. The consumer pays it on articles which will permit the shift. On the others the incidence is on the merchant. When it comes to the income and inheritance taxes the difficulty of shifting becomes almost insurmountable. Of all taxes these are the least likely to be passed on to someone else.

Taxation and Citizenship. Taxation should not be looked upon as a necessary evil. As an actual fact taxes usually represent not an evil, but an unusually wise expenditure of money. The tax dollar frequently buys more for the citizen than any other dollar he spends. While an auto owner may pay in various taxes as much as \$40 a year on his car and its operation, he should remember that for that money he rides on thousands of miles of smooth pavement, well-marked, well-repaired, and well-patrolled. A farmer with three children in school should remember that if there were no free schools supported by taxes, he would have to pay nearly \$1,000 a year to give his children an education. Government is a form of co-operation. Almost none of us, as individuals, could hire competent engineers to build our highways, trained firemen to protect our property, and skillful teachers to instruct our children. Acting co-operatively, that is, through our government, we can have these advantages. How then can taxes be evil?

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. What two concepts of government are represented in the quotation from Mayor Hoan? Explain each of them.
2. Explain how and why governmental expenses have been increasing. What causes are listed by Andrew Mellon?
3. What moves have been taken for a reduction in governmental expenses?
4. Explain the following federal taxes: income, excise, import duties, and estate tax. Explain the difference between *ad valorem* and specific rates as applied to import duties.
5. Explain what is meant by the general property tax, auto taxes (two kinds), business taxes, income taxes, inheritance taxes, and sales taxes as used by the states.
6. Criticize the sales tax. Explain Professor Seligman's comment on it.
7. From what tax do local governments derive the bulk of their revenue?

- 8 What are the duties of assessors?
- 9 What types of inequalities usually result from poor assessments?
- 10 Explain how the tax levy is derived
11. How are taxes collected and by whom?
- 12 What three proposals are made for improving the property tax?
- 13 What overlapping occurs between federal, state, and local governments in the forms of taxes levied? What suggestions are made for solving this difficulty?
- 14 Explain the *fiscal*, *benefit*, *ability-to-pay*, and *socio-political* theories of taxation. Criticize each of them
- 15 What is meant by the *incidence* of a tax?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Are high taxes a mark of poor government? Are they a mark of good government?
2. Suggest some specific ways in which governments might economize
- 3 Upon what theory of taxation is the income tax based? The gasoline tax? The sales tax?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. What is the property tax levy of your community? What are the tax rates for the various taxing units, such as state, county, township, and school?
- 2 Is there waste of public money in your own city government? In your county government? In your state government? Does your school waste money? Explain.
3. Do you pay federal taxes directly? Indirectly? Do your parents?
4. Do your local assessors use scientific methods? Are the assessments generally satisfactory? Explain
5. Outline a model tax plan for your local government, your state, and the nation.

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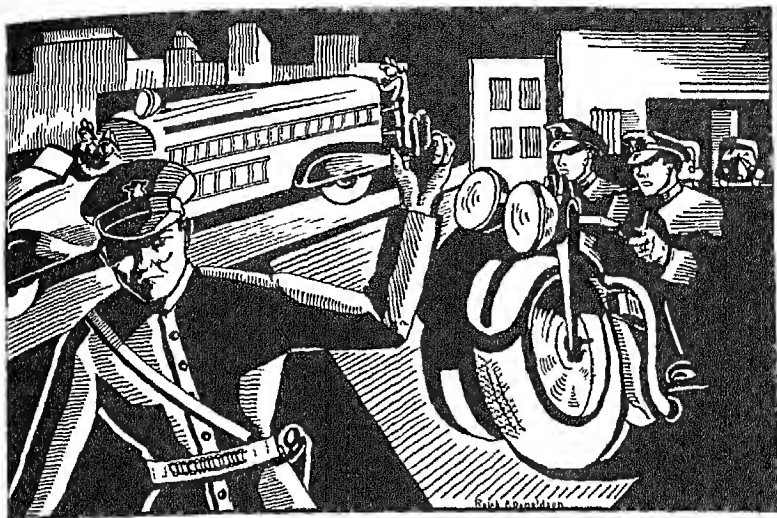
PART III

THE CITIZEN NEEDS PROTECTION
AND SECURITY

THE basic obligation which government must perform is that of providing protection and security for the citizens. It is a matter of providing not only the routine protection against fire and against violence to the citizen and his property, but it is imperative that the government protect the citizen from injuries in other forms. Beyond the routine protection it becomes necessary for government to do at least the three things which President Roosevelt suggested every government should do—protect the citizen from losing his home, protect the citizen against unemployment, and protect the citizen against his old age.

With this view in mind we shall consider the routine domestic protection which every citizen considers essential to the operation of a government (Chapter 9). We shall consider the costly character of protecting the nation from other nations (Chapter 10). Beyond that we shall turn our attention to the forces which might be used to protect the consumer (Chapter 11). Finally we shall consider the various methods which have been employed to protect the worker (Chapter 12).

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Chapter 9 DOMESTIC PROTECTION

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To explain what domestic rights the citizen has
- 2 To cite the agencies developed for the citizen's protection
- 3 To suggest some additional sources of protection which might be created

THE protection of the citizen is, without question, the most important function which government must perform. In this chapter we shall give our attention to the protection of the citizen by his government in his person, in his property, in his relations to his group, in his rights, and in his health. Furthermore we shall consider the agencies through which this protection is provided.

THE THINGS PROVIDED

Security of Persons. Nothing is more fundamental or basic in an orderly government than that certainty be given to every person that he is secure in his person from the violence of other citizens. If bandits and robbers were active and unrestrained one would assume that the minimum of orderly government had not been established in the region.

With a view to protecting persons in the orderly conduct of their affairs, organized groups of people make rules and regulations protecting the person. Primitive people know that the killing of a person may be injurious to the tribe. Consequently, groups of people, quite early in their development, make rules and laws against killing members of the group. Organized society everywhere has developed laws against murder, against assaults, against the unnecessary injury and mutilation of one's personal enemy, against the taking of another's goods. As a result, in our society if a person unnecessarily takes another person's life he is guilty of murder in one of its several degrees, or of manslaughter. Despite the fact that we have laws against the taking of another person's life there are in the United States each year more than 11,000 homicides, or 9.2 out of every 100,000 population. This rate, however, is much higher than that of European countries. At the same time it is worthy of note that the rate is not uniform in all parts of the United States. The highest rate is to be found in the cities of the border states and the southern states—such cities as Lexington, Little Rock, Memphis, Birmingham, Atlanta, Macon, and Savannah. This is contrary to the general impression concerning the homicide rate, for most citizens have the impression that New York and Chicago have the highest rate. In 1933 the New York rate was 7.4 while the rate in Chicago was slightly above 10.

If one citizen hits another with his fist, the law defines the act as assault and battery. If the hitting is done with a club or some heavy implement, the act is likely to be defined as aggravated assault and battery. If a man mutilates his adversary in a fight or brawl, he is likely to be guilty of mayhem. If a man takes another's goods by holding him in fear or by using force he is guilty of robbery. Thus the law, which is merely the regular and orderly way of saying which acts are allowed and which are disallowed, develops in every society. Our American law has emerged from the *common law* of England and was brought to this continent by the early English settlers.

The Common Law. By the common law we mean the body of decisions, opinions, and statutes which have accumulated through the centuries in England and the United States by which the legal profession and the courts are guided in settling disputes. The common law consists of those decisions the necessity for which could

not be anticipated in the statutes. The statutes may say that drivers of automobiles should drive "with reasonable care." What reasonable care is depends upon the place, the condition of the roads, the degree of traffic congestion, and other factors. Courts are frequently called upon to interpret such phrases as "reasonable care," and the decision of the court, if important and significant, becomes a part of the common law. Similarly, the statutes may specify that liquor may not be sold "to intoxicated persons." Since the statutes do not define intoxication, it becomes necessary for the court, in passing judgment, to give a decision on what constitutes intoxication. The United States Constitution, in the seventh amendment, specifies that court trials shall be conducted "according to the rules of the common law."

Security of Property. Wherever private property develops, and it seems to be quite a common development among groups of people, organized society establishes principles and rules for the handling, sale, transfer, possession, and ownership of the property. Wherever any semblance of private property is found rules develop against the taking of another person's goods. Such taking in our society under the English common law is known as *larceny*. Breaking a lock on another's house may be classed as *forcible entry*, but breaking, entering, and committing some illegal act is defined as *burglary*. To protect property further, especially in those forms which are not so visible, we have laws against *frauds*, against *conspiracies*, and against *embezzlement*.

Organized society develops rules for the orderly transfer of property, both personal property and real estate. Statutes and court decisions covering sales and contracts set the standards by which business is conducted in an orderly way. *Deeds* are the instruments by which the ownership of real estate is transferred, while *wills* are the instruments by which testators make provision for the disposal of their property after their death. Modern governments provide places in county court houses for the recording of these important papers to protect them against loss and also to make known to any inquirer the exact status of property ownership. Thus when a citizen desires to buy a particular piece of real estate, he can find from his lawyer's investigation in the recorder's office the exact status of the title—the name of the owner, the amount of the mortgage, if any, and other significant data. Consequently, when a deed is recorded,

notice is given to the world that the transaction has been made. Courts are established, in part, to settle disputes which may arise over the interpretation of the records.

Financial Security. In addition to the security which one is expected to receive from his government in so far as his person and his property are concerned, it is important to note that a certain amount of financial and economic security is due the citizen. The government should and often does exercise vigilance over banks and investment agencies so that the citizen's savings may be safe. Furthermore the citizen should be entitled to economic security by way of the several forms of social legislation (See Chapter 12 for the Security for the Worker.)

Security of the Group. Organized society always makes some provision for the protection of itself against persons who may do it injury. To this end modern governments make provision for restraining persons who may commit acts against the government. These acts, in their most extreme form, have been known as *treason*. Acts of treason are uncommon, but when they are committed governments frequently exact the death penalty as the punishment. Few persons have been charged with treason in the United States. This is attributable to the fact that when Aaron Burr was charged with treason John Marshall, the judge sitting at the trial, took the position that treason arose only when an act against the government was actually committed, that preparation to commit an act or encouragement of others to commit an act against the government was not treasonable.

Because of the difficulty which the prosecutor would have in proving a charge of treason, the government has made *sedition* the crime for which many persons have been charged. This was the charge made against many persons during the period of the World War when it was found that they had talked or written against the participation in the war by the United States and, in some cases, actually advised citizens against participation in the war and against registering for the military draft. Some persons were convicted during 1917 and 1918 under the Sedition Acts passed by Congress and by the state legislatures. Probably the best known of these persons was Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader and four times the candidate of his party for President.

In addition to acts punishing treason and sedition, all modern

governments impose heavy penalties for *counterfeiting* the currency and the coin of the country. The government of the United States has been so eager to protect the money which it circulates that it makes the possession of counterfeiting tools and machinery a crime. However, counterfeiting does not seem to be as serious a problem as it once was and persons who have wanted to make some easy money have not been willing to tamper with the federal government and its laws against counterfeiting. They are more disposed to take advantage of our lax investment laws and issue relatively worthless securities to be sold to the investing public. Or possibly the persons who would have engaged in counterfeiting have been disposed, in recent years, to organize and operate a racket.¹ Rackets have operated during recent years not only in the sale of liquor but also by way of selling protection to the barbers, the hand laundries, the milk drivers, and many other occupational groups, the members of which render a necessary service to the public.

Some governments act with a view to protecting their people and their institutions from certain persons, chiefly aliens and usually aliens who are supposed to have ideas which some American citizens think objectionable. Our government was especially active in this direction during the decade following the World War when some citizens had an abnormal fear of aliens and of alien ideas. Our government during this period barred the entrance into the United States of a member of the British nobility because she had once been granted a divorce for unconventional reasons. About the same time we refused to admit a member of the British Parliament for a brief visit because he was a Communist. Then too we barred the admission of ex-President Karolyi of Hungary because of the ideas which we suspected him of possessing. Furthermore our government refused to allow the ambassador from Russia to Mexico to land in New York and cross the United States by railroad.

Our government, through the immigration and naturalization service, has taken particular objection to aliens seeking naturalization who admit in their examinations for citizenship that they would refuse to bear arms in the event of war. For this reason

¹ A racket is an organized way of collecting money for rendering a slight or an imaginary service. Many rackets are organized on the plan of selling protection to a group of people that really needs no protection or which could secure all the protection it needed from the police force. Violence and force are often used to secure an effective operation of a racket.

citizenship was denied Rozika Schwimmer, a woman more than fifty years old, who would not have been allowed to bear arms as a soldier even if she had wanted to do so. For the same reason our courts denied citizenship to Professor MacIntosh, a professor in a divinity school, and to other applicants who objected to fighting. The Supreme Court of the United States, in a divided decision, affirmed the judgment of the lower courts in the Schwimmer case but Oliver Wendell Holmes, then an aged and venerable member of the Court, presented a dissenting opinion which is a masterpiece for clarity of expression and for common-sense reasoning. In referring to the applicant, Rozika Schwimmer, he wrote

The applicant seems to be a woman of superior character and intelligence, obviously more than ordinarily desirable as a citizen of the United States. It is agreed that she is qualified for citizenship except so far as the views set forth in a statement of facts "may show that the applicant is not well disposed to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same, and except in so far as the same may show that she cannot take the oath of allegiance without a mental reservation."

The views referred to are an extreme opinion in favor of pacifism and a statement that she would not bear arms to defend the Constitution. So far as the adequacy of her oath is concerned I hardly see how it is affected by the statement, inasmuch as she is a woman over fifty years of age, and would not be allowed to bear arms if she wanted to. And as to the opinion, the whole examination of the applicant shows that she holds none of the now-dreaded creeds but thoroughly believes in organized government and prefers that of the United States to any other in the world.

Surely it cannot show lack of attachment to the principles of the Constitution that she thinks it can be improved. I suppose that most intelligent people think that it might. Her particular improvement looking to the abolition of war seems to me not materially different in its bearing on this case from a wish to establish a cabinet government as in England, or a single house, or one term of seven years for the President. To touch a more burning question, only a judge mad with partisanship would exclude because the applicant thought that the Eighteenth Amendment should be repealed.

Of course the fear is that if war came the applicant would exert activities such as were dealt with in *Schenk v. United States*. But that seems to me unfounded. Her position and motives are wholly different from those of *Schenk*. She is an optimist and states in strong and, I do not doubt, sincere words her belief that war will disappear and that the impending destiny of mankind is to unite in peaceful leagues.

I do not share that optimism nor do I think that a philosophic view

of the world would regard war as absurd. But most people who have known it regard it with horror, as a last resort, and even if not yet ready for cosmopolitan efforts, would welcome any practicable combinations that would increase the power on the side of peace.

The notion that the applicant's optimistic anticipations would make her a worse citizen is sufficiently answered by her examination, which seems to me a better argument for her admission than any I can offer. Some of her answers might excite popular prejudice, but if there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate. I think that we should adhere to that principle with regard to admission into, as well as to life within, this country.

And recurring to the opinion that bars this applicant's way, I would suggest that the Quakers have done their share to make the country what it is, that many citizens agree with the applicant's belief and that I had not supposed hitherto that we regretted our inability to expel them because they believe more than some of us in the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount.

All of these barriers, in which we refuse admission to the United States as well as refuse citizenship after arrival, are in direct opposition to the position which our government formerly took when the United States was a haven for the people of Europe who were oppressed and persecuted because of their political ideas or their religious views. Whether we shall continue with our present restrictions or revert to the less stringent ones of the nineteenth century remains for the citizen to decide.

Security of Rights. The governments of the United States and of the states are supposed to guarantee the citizen a wide range of human rights. These guarantees are included in the first ten amendments to the Constitution and are often referred to as the Bill of Rights. The first of these amendments is significant and all citizens should know its content and be aware of its meaning. It reads

Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

The remainder of the Bill of Rights deals with other guarantees but for the liberty-loving citizen the first amendment is the heart to the citizen's right to live under a free and democratic society.

This amendment should mean that people not only have the legal right to worship, to speak, to print, and to petition, but it should also mean that no social discriminations be exercised against them if they do. This is not always the case, for some of our citizens have discriminated against Catholics, Jews, and persons of different religious connections in many public places. School officials frequently set up religious requirements in selecting teachers and voters discriminate against candidates for public office because of their religious affiliations.

THE AGENCIES OF PROTECTION

With a view to protecting its citizens, organized society, through the government, sets up machinery of protection. This machinery is represented in such forms as fire departments, health departments, police departments, courts, prisons, and reformatories.

Protection From Nature, Fire. Modern governments protect the citizens not only from each other but from the forces of nature. One of the first functions of city government consists of providing protection against fire. This is done by several methods, one of which consists of having the most suitable and specialized equipment, as well as trained persons for fighting fires. Fire hydrants with high water pressure, fire engines with powerful pumps, fire wagons with large quantities of hose, fire towers for reaching high buildings, and fire boats for use in fighting fires along the water front are some of the many pieces of efficient machinery which fire departments use. In addition to the equipment in our cities the citizen is further protected by a fire personnel, many members of which spend long terms of service in their work. These men acquire skill not only in fighting fires but they develop further ability from studying new methods of fighting troublesome fires in different types of industry. Then too the members of the fire department are usually made secure in their position by the tenure of civil service appointments so that an efficient fireman is certain to retain his job with each change of city administration.

Governments engage in fire fighting, but they also are active in fire prevention. Cities prescribe forms of construction and kinds of materials which are not likely to cause fires. Thus we find ordinances prescribing non-wooden roofs on buildings and in some cities

or sections of cities we have regulations against the erection of all wooden structures. Fire marshals inspect buildings to prevent practices which might cause fires and the association of fire insurance writers, with the aid and encouragement of the government, makes rules requiring the proper construction, heating, and wiring of buildings with a view to eliminating fire hazards. Consequently when a citizen builds a house in almost any city it is necessary for him to have the wiring done by licensed electricians and also, in the interest of health, to have the plumbing inspected by a governmentally employed inspector.

State governments, through their departments of conservation or forests, set up, as part of their forestry plan, a program of forest fire fighting. They do this by utilizing watch towers for the detection of fires, by building fire lanes on roads and trails, and sometimes, when other methods fail, by actually using the state forest forces in the job of fighting fires. The success which the state foresters have had in preventing rather than in fighting fires is illustrated by the decline in the percentage of the forest areas which have been burned each year. Of recent years the men of the Civilian Conservation Corps have also been used in the work of preventing forest fires.

Floods. Governments set up machinery for the prevention and control of fire but they also spend public funds to prevent floods. The great Boulder Dam, constructed on the Colorado River, is supposed, among other things, to control the damaging influence of water during the flood season on that river. The Wilson Dam and the Wheeler Dam on the Tennessee River, and the Norris Dam on the Clinch River are other federal projects which have been built partly with flood control as the purpose. Levees and flood walls along our rivers are other devices for which public funds have been used in order to give protection to the lives and the property of citizens.

Drought. Governments have spent money to relieve drought. This has been done by encouraging irrigation projects in dry but fertile areas. Also grants of money from the federal treasury are used to relieve people living in areas which suffer from drought by extending credit for seed, for fertilizer, and in some cases by actually providing feed for animals and food for people.

Wild Life. Governments protect their citizens from another form of nature when funds are appropriated for paying bounties on wild life which may injure man and his domesticated animals. As a result appropriations are made for paying bounties to persons who kill such harmful forms of life as weasels, hawks, wolves, bobcats, mountain lions, and many other forms of life which are likely to prey upon poultry and live stock. Mr. Citizen who is engaged in agriculture is anxious to have this kind of protection.

Protection to Health. All of the forms of nature to which reference has been made are easily visible. We need to consider some invisible forms of nature, microscopic organisms or germs, which endanger the citizen's health and against which organized government sets up machinery for his protection. This service is provided through the departments of health. Every city, every state, and even the federal government, through its bureau of public health and other bureaus of the government, spend money in protecting the citizen against contaminated water, against adulterated, unclean, and impure food, and against infected persons by means of quarantine and publicly supported clinics (see Chapter II). In addition to these activities organized government conducts research on diseases, provides laboratory service for the diagnosis of disease, and issues bulletins on the condition of the public's health with a view to preventing the further spread of infection. Heads of public health departments of cities and of states frequently write excellent communications to the newspapers as devices for informing the citizens about infections and the communication of diseases.

Governments provide further protection to the citizen by establishing hospitals, some general in their nature and some of a special character. The Cook County Hospital in Chicago, Bellevue Hospital in New York, and Philadelphia General Hospital are a few of the large publicly supported hospitals of the country. The states provide hospitals for the care of the insane and the states, or sometimes the counties, set up institutions for the treatment of tubercular patients. Cities often provide isolation hospitals to which patients, afflicted with communicable diseases, may be taken for care.

Police Protection. All cities, some counties, many states, and even the federal government furnish protection to citizens through the work of the police. Policemen should possess qualifications of

good temper, good judgment, good health and physique, as well as honesty and integrity. For a superior type of police officer the citizen should be willing to pay handsomely in the form of salary offered members of the force and in the security provided the officer in the form of pensions, and also by way of security to his family in the event of his injury or death in line of duty. However, it is quite clear that in most cities the public fails to make these provisions, and the result is a mediocre type of police service.

In cities the work of the police is divided into several specialized forms, each of which requires special training and intelligence if the work is to be done well. The *vice* squad is expected to be responsible for enforcing the laws and ordinances against such forms of behavior as gambling and prostitution. The *detective* squad, sometimes known as "plain clothes men," is responsible for the solution of more serious crimes, such as murder, burglary, robbery, arson, and kidnapping. Too often detectives are chosen from the ranks of patrolmen with no special qualifications of intelligence and ability. As a result the American police often use the "third degree" on suspected criminals, resorting to violence on the accused person in order to secure a confession of guilt rather than detecting the real criminal. The *traffic* squad, which has come into existence since the advent of the automobile, is responsible, as its name implies, for directing traffic, regulating parking, and generally keeping the streets as free from congestion as conditions will allow. However, when we learn that in 1934 there were 36,000 persons killed in automobile accidents and nearly 1,000,000 persons injured, we commence to realize that the police and other law-enforcing agencies have a big job ahead of them in reducing the amount of damage done by automobiles. Perhaps compulsory automobile insurance, with a rigid examination of the driver before a driver's license is issued, together with regular and thorough inspection of brakes on automobiles would combine to reduce the number of accidents. However, these factors would not be enough, for the engineering skill of the highway departments would have to be directed toward the elimination of all unnecessary hazards on the highways.

County and state police are occupied chiefly with the supervision of the highways, in detaining suspects of crime, and in enforcing the regulations governing the operation of automobiles. In some states the members of the state police force examine all applicants

for motor licenses and periodically insist upon a thorough inspection of automobile brakes. The state police in some states prevent the posting of signs on the highways and generally they can be relied upon to co-operate with city police departments and with sheriffs in the enforcement of law and in the detection of criminals.

The Operation of the Police System. The police department of cities is directed by a chief of police or by a police commissioner. The chief of police, in the smaller cities, is usually appointed from the ranks of officers who have seen service on the force. In the larger cities the police commissioner is sometimes a layman who has never had any experience as a policeman. Theodore Roosevelt, as a young man, served as police commissioner of New York. General Smedley Butler of the United States Marine Corps once served as head of the Philadelphia police system, and John F. O'Ryan, a former army officer, has served in a similar capacity in New York. It may be advantageous in the larger cities to have a layman as head of the police department, since men in the department may follow the directions of an "outsider" more readily than they would one who has been advanced from their ranks. However, there are some good reasons for securing heads of police departments by promotion from the ranks.

Large cities have their police work assigned to subordinates in the force. *Captains* have charge of police districts and large cities usually are divided into several such areas. Police stations and the men attached to them are usually directed by *lieutenants*, while *sergeants* of police are assigned to certain clerical work, to the supervision of patrolmen on the streets, or to directing the activities of squad cars.

The best method by which the police department can operate is by the selection of the members of the force by means of the merit system. This means that men should be chosen and promoted to higher rank for their abilities, and retained in office under the civil service regulations with each succeeding administration until they resign or until the age of retirement is reached. It further means that no one shall be dismissed from the service without a public hearing of the charges made against him. These standards are in force in few cities, although they are being perfected slowly.

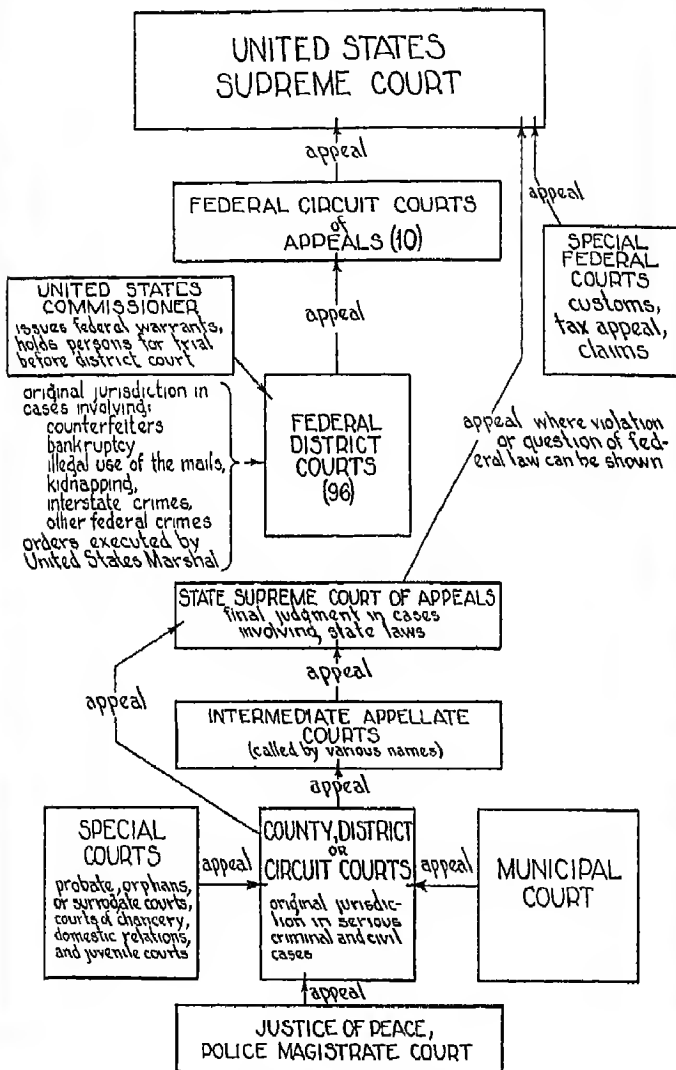
The Courts. In addition to the police force the citizens, through city, state, and the federal governments, have access to courts as

agencies for the protection of their persons, property, and rights. Police courts or magistrates' courts operate in close contact with the police department. Frequently they are housed in the police stations and concern themselves with such cases as drunkenness and disorderly conduct, vagrancy, traffic violations, or other minor offences. We shall turn now to a consideration of the various courts which are set up by the several arms of the government to protect the citizen.

Municipal Courts. During the last two decades in the United States the citizen has seen an extensive expansion of city courts. They have been created by the action of the state legislatures to deal with problems which are peculiar to city life. Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and Chicago are some cities which have well-developed and well-known municipal courts. As a rule the municipal courts deal with problems arising in family life and such cases are handled in the division of *domestic relations*. These family cases may be cases of desertion, non-support, or cruelty to wife and children. These courts frequently have a division given over to juvenile offenders and the court which handles these cases is known as the *juvenile* court. However, in Illinois and in Colorado, where the juvenile courts were first created, they were established as part of the work of the county court and not in the municipal court. Municipal courts sometimes have divisions known as *morals* courts dealing with persons guilty of sex offences, while in Chicago there has been created a *boys' court*, to which cases are taken of boys who are too old to fall under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. Besides performing all of these special functions the municipal court frequently has some jurisdiction over some general cases of civil and of criminal law that arise in the city in which the court exists.

State Courts. In addition to the systems of city courts, which have developed only recently, the states have set up systems of courts as the needs of the citizens from time to time required. The court of first resort, in which warrants are issued for arrests and in which minor civil actions are tried, are the *magistrates' courts*, often known as the courts of *justices of the peace*. Besides these minor courts there is always set up a system of trial courts which empanel juries periodically to hear trials of civil or of criminal cases.

FEDERAL AND STATE COURTS



In addition to the trial courts there are appellate courts to which litigants may take their cases in the event of an adverse decision in the lower courts. Thus, if a man charged with a crime is convicted in the trial court his counsel may, on some question which he thinks might be decided favorably to his client if taken to the higher court, appeal the case to the appellate court. These appellate courts bear such titles in the different states as *supreme court*, *superior court*, court of *appeals*, *appellate court*, or court of *errors*. They do not hear testimony but reach decisions on the cases from the printed statements of the *brief* and from the arguments of points of law by counsel.

All cases at law are tried in the state courts except those in which the United States might be a party or in those in which a federal statute is involved. For the trial of these cases the United States government has, from time to time, set up *district courts*. The work of these courts and that of the *circuit* courts is conducted in the larger cities of the country. In addition to these courts the United States Supreme Court meets in Washington. This is the court of last resort for cases arising in the state system and also for cases arising in the federal system. (See Chapter 7 for the federal courts.)

Officials of the Courts A court consists of more than the judge who presides at the trial. Juries must be empaneled whose duty it is to pass upon the facts as they are presented in the course of taking testimony. There must be a grand jury with each term of criminal court, the duty of which is to listen to testimony of the prosecution in order to determine whether the case should be heard in open court before a judge and jury. When the grand jury reports a case for trial, it is known as returning a *true bill*. In addition to the juries, there must be a public *prosecutor* in criminal trials whose duty it is to press the cases against persons charged with crime. His official title is *district attorney* or *state's attorney*, the title differing in different states. There is also a growing tendency in criminal courts to have a *public defender*. Each court must have a *sheriff* or a *marshal* or a *bailiff* whose duty it is to carry out the orders of the court. Then too each court must have a *clerk* who is obliged to keep a record of the business transacted. He is supplied with an office in the county building where records are kept and he or his deputies must be in attendance at the sessions of the court. Some courts have *experts*, such as alienists, criminologists,

and psychiatrists, whose job it is to pass on the character of persons charged with crime. Experts in ballistics furnish the court with information concerning the use of firearms. Psychologists and psychiatrists are frequently employed in connection with juvenile courts. Then too the court must have *lawyers* to represent clients who have interests at issue, and criminal courts are certain to have *probation officers* whose duty it is to investigate the character, habits, and background of persons who have been convicted of crime.

The Work of the Courts. In addition to the work of the appellate courts there are four general functions which courts perform. The courts sitting in criminal cases hear evidence to determine the guilt or the innocence of accused persons. If the person charged with crime is found guilty the judge passes sentence, either placing him on probation, or imposing a fine, or sending him to prison, or sometimes a combination of two of these penalties.

In addition to their work in criminal cases, courts also exist for passing judgment in civil actions. If Mr. X owes Mr. Y a bill and there is some dispute over the settlement, suit can be brought by Mr. Y to recover the amount due. If the court renders a verdict in favor of Mr. Y, the *plaintiff*, the person who brought the suit, he is entitled to *judgment* and that fact is recorded in the office of the court's clerk. Judgment means that the property of the *defendant* in the trial can be attached to the amount of the verdict rendered. The courts which sit on the civil cases also render decisions on property ownership or on injury done to one's reputation. The lawyer, familiar with the operation of the common law, classes these civil actions as actions in *trover*, in *replevin*, in *trespass*, in *assumpsit*, in *libel*, or in one of many other classifications.

Besides the criminal and the civil actions the judges also sit in *equity*, or *chancery* as it is known in some states. In equity cases the judge sits without a jury and the hearing is often characterized by much informality. Actions in equity are those in which originally there was no definite law but in which there was need that justice be done. Consequently there has arisen a body of decisions and material, with which the lawyers and the judges are familiar, which is used extensively by the courts. To restrain a man, a group of men, or a corporation from doing an act one could secure an *injunction* from the court. This is an order notifying the particular persons to desist from engaging in a particular act. Injunctions are

often secured against laborers who are on strike. The labor injunction has been a source of contention in American political life for a generation. Writs of *mandamus*, which are orders commanding one responsible for performing an official act to perform it, are also proceedings in equity.

The fourth of these general functions which courts perform deals with the field of legally disposing of the estates of deceased persons. Upon the death of Mr. A the administrator or the executor is obliged to dispose of his property, according to the provisions of his will, if he has a will, and always under the laws of that state, by order of the court which functions in this capacity. In most states, in the more populous counties, there are special courts created for handling this type of work. These courts bear such titles as *probate court*, *orphans' court*, or *surrogate court*.

A Day in Court. If you and the members of your class were to visit court for a day, you might go in time for the convocation which is likely to be at ten in the morning or at some other hour designated by the judge. At the appointed hour the judge enters the court room, the members of the bar and the audience stand as the bailiff intones the phrases of calling court into session. The first case is called. If it is a criminal case, the indictment, voted by the grand jury, would be read to the indicted person and he would be given an opportunity to plead guilty or not guilty. If he enters a plea of guilt, he will be sentenced by the judge then or at a later time during that session of court. If he pleads not guilty his case will be submitted to a jury and then there is started the process of selecting a jury. If the case is an important one, the selection of a jury may require days. Again it may be completed in a few minutes or a few hours. The selection of a jury is followed by the submission of the evidence. The prosecution (in civil actions the plaintiff) presents his witnesses first and they are subjected to cross examination by the counsel for the defense. Upon the conclusion of the prosecution's evidence, the defendant presents his witnesses, who are also obliged to undergo a cross-examination by the prosecution. There is constant interruption of the testimony and the judge is obliged to rule on whether portions of the testimony shall be included in the evidence, and whether questions shall be asked in a particular form. After the testimony is presented arguments are offered to the jury by the opposing counsel, after

which the judge instructs the jury concerning its disposition of the case. When the instructions are concluded, the jury members are taken to a room where they can deliberate on the questions involved. They may be "out" for a few minutes, for many hours, or for a couple of days. While this jury is deliberating, another jury is called to hear testimony in another case.

While a case is being tried, there may be numerous interruptions. The testimony of witnesses may show that someone who has not been detained in the case should be arrested and the judge may issue a *bench warrant* for the arrest. Further along, there may be a witness who is discourteous to the court or whose behavior is otherwise unbecoming, and the judge may hold him in *contempt*, imposing a slight jail sentence as a penalty. During a lull in the trial, the judge might be approached by a lawyer who wants an order signed by the court. If the trial is accompanied by much feeling, the judge may announce that the court room will be cleared if there is any demonstration. Finally, the judge may take some question under *advisement* and adjourn court for the day, reaching a decision on the question when court reconvenes. These are some of the many things which might happen during a day in court. In order to learn how the courts really function the citizens should visit them often.

Prisons and Reformatories. Governments provide places to which persons who have been convicted of crime may be sent, either for punishment or for treatment as the nature of the institution allows. For the less serious offenses persons are committed to jail, an institution maintained in almost every county. The jail sentences are usually of short duration. As a consequence the jailer, even though he has the best of intentions of reforming his inmates, can do little to help them. The jail is a most objectionable institution. Usually it does not provide separate quarters for those who are waiting trial on bail and those who have been sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Often jails are dirty and unsanitary. As a rule the jail provides few or no forms of employment or other activity for its inmates. As a consequence little, if anything, can be done to improve the habits and the ways of living of those confined.

The penitentiaries, managed and maintained by the states, are used as places to detain prisoners who have been found guilty of offenses which seem to be of a serious nature. These institutions

are usually managed far better than are the jails. Employment is provided for some of the inmates. Recreational activities of some variety are furnished. Generally some effort is made to direct the interests of the prisoners so that they may be returned to society to live normally. Physicians and psychiatrists are employed to improve the health and to shape the attitudes of the inmates so that they can find a place in society at the expiration of their terms of sentence. Too often the penitentiaries are overcrowded and the keepers are unable to give the proper attention to each inmate. Furthermore too many of the penitentiaries are located in large cities, sometimes in the congested areas, so that the location is not conducive to the development of employment or of recreation. Special institutions have been provided for the criminally insane, and of recent years we have seen the establishment and development of separate institutions for women.

The reformatory is an institution quite similar to the penitentiary except that its inmates are recruited from the younger criminals whom the courts do not wish to send to the penitentiary or who are required by the law, because of their age or the nature of their offense, to be sent to the reformatory. The reformatory furnishes one way of separating the younger and less experienced criminals from the older and more hardened ones, although there is a wide range of age limits in the reformatories.

The reform school, or the industrial school, as it is sometimes named, is an institution which attempts to care for young offenders who have committed some offense, or maybe a series of offenses of sufficient seriousness to warrant the judge to commit them to this kind of institution. Separate institutions are maintained for boys and for girls. Of all of the penal institutions the reform school has been criticized more than any, and quite justifiably so. Its inmates, for their ages, are hardened criminals. The school usually succeeds in doing little or nothing to reform them. Experience has shown that residence in the reform school too frequently serves as a training ground for later crime, to the end that the reform school inmate is later committed to the reformatory or to the penitentiary.

Probation and Parole. People who are critical of the results achieved by penitentiaries and reformatories, and many should be, are convinced that criminals would have a better chance of reforming if they were allowed to remain near their families and friends.

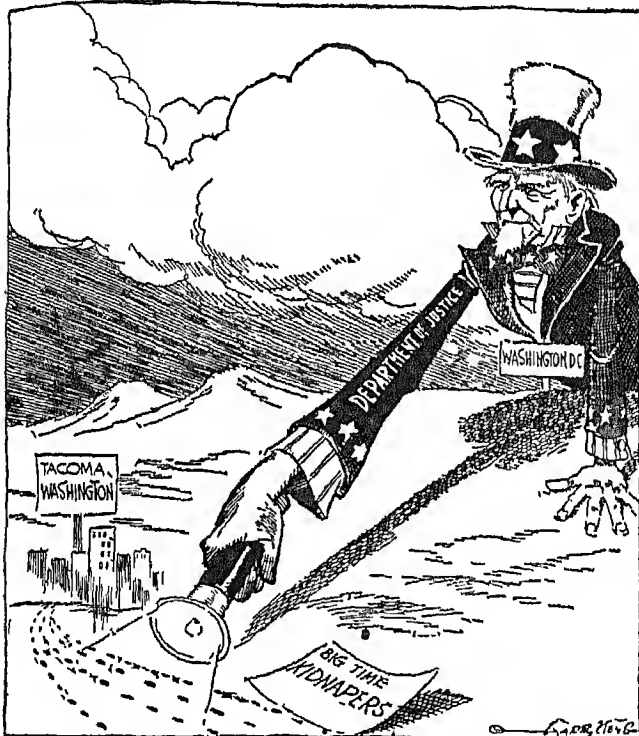
under the direction of a sympathetic, competent, tactful, and trained person who could direct their activities and supervise their conduct. Such an official is known as a *probation officer*. There are many of them working in connection with courts in the United States. When a person is found guilty of crime he is entitled, under many circumstances, to make application for probation. It becomes the job of the probation officer, under the direction of the judge, to investigate the case with a view to determining whether the applicant would profit from probation. Upon investigation and the filing of a report with the judge a decision is reached on each case. If probation is allowed it serves as a substitute for a prison sentence. If probation is violated the person violating it is sent to prison. Offenses of a serious nature are usually not subject to probation.

Parole is a scheme for shortening the sentence of a prisoner. Parole is granted usually by a parole board on the recommendation of the prison authorities. It is supposed to be granted to those persons who show marked signs of reform. Violation of one's parole by engaging in some form of criminal conduct is cause for the paroled person to be returned to prison for that portion of his sentence which remains at the time of the commission of the act violating the parole.

The Indeterminate Sentence. Many persons have believed, and quite rightly so, that a judge when passing sentence on a convicted person has no means of knowing what amount of time may be required for the convict's reform and for his return to normal ways of living. Consequently during recent years the legislatures have passed laws in which they have provided for a change in the length of sentence from a definite term of years to a flexible term of years. Thus George Blank, convicted of a crime, might have been sentenced formerly to ten years in the penitentiary. Under the system of the indeterminate sentence he may be sentenced to from one to ten years. As a result of this plan he may be made subject to parole sometime after serving his minimum sentence of one year, thereby fixing the state of the expense of maintaining him and also creating the possibility that a reformed person may be turned back to society.

Prevention of Crime. It should be clear that there is need for a program in the United States for the prevention of crime, in addition to the detection and punishment of criminals. How a program

for prevention of crime could be operated is difficult to suggest. However, a few proposals might be considered. Every community and city should have a well-organized program of recreation, providing a rich variety of activities with play centers located so that they would be accessible to all children. Furthermore, we know



Courtesy Columbus (Ohio) Citizen

FORTUNATELY, STATE LINES DON'T STOP THIS ARM

that most criminals start on their careers early in life, and since they do this largely because of financial uncertainty at home, it might be possible to reduce the amount of crime by enlarging the incomes of those families which live in the congested areas of our cities where criminal acts are most likely to be committed. This, however, would require a change in our system of wages and employment. It would do much to abolish child labor and provide exciting things for young people to do, if a satisfactory wage sys-

tem made it possible to provide these things. In the third place, we might reduce the amount of crime if we were able to detect the persons who were most likely to become criminals. This might be done in connection with the school and in special clinics where children who seem to create problems of behavior might be studied. Finally, we might be able to prevent some crime if the forces of criminal detection were so organized as to prevent the escape of anyone who had committed a crime. This might be done by enlarging the unit of police administration so that police officers would not be obliged to stop at their city, county, or state boundaries in the pursuit of a criminal only because their legal jurisdiction did not extend beyond the political boundaries.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 In what respect is the citizen protected from bodily injury committed by others?
- 2 What needs to be done to make life more secure? What section of the country has the highest homicide rate? Why is this true?
- 3 What forms of illegal appropriation of goods are forbidden under English common law? What rules has organized society developed for the transfer of property?
- 4 Explain the difference between treason and sedition.
- 5 What does the government do to protect citizens from alien propagandists?
- 6 What reason was given for the refusal to admit MacIntosh and Rozika Schwimmer to citizenship? Explain the late Justice Holmes's decision in regard to Rozika Schwimmer.
- 7 In what respect was the attitude of the Court in conflict with the government's historic attitude toward immigration and naturalization?
- 8 What provisions are given in the first amendment of the Constitution that guarantee the citizen the right of living in a free and democratic society? Explain the implications of these guarantees.
- 9 In what ways does the government protect its citizens from fire?
10. Discuss the work of the government in the protection of the health of its citizens.
- 11 What should be the qualifications of police officers? What is necessary before most cities will have this type? What is the work of the *vice*, *detective*, and *traffic* squads?
- 12 Explain the organization of the police department.

- 13 Identify and explain the operation of municipal, state, and federal courts. Define domestic relations, juvenile, trial, and state appellate courts. Define *true bill*, *public prosecutor*, *district attorney*, *public defender*, *marshal*, and *clerk*. What experts are often attached to courts?
- 14 Identify and explain the work of criminal courts, civil courts, equity or chancery courts, and probate courts.
- 15 What is an injunction? How does it operate?
- 16 Distinguish between a jail, a penitentiary, a reformatory, and a reform or industrial school. What criticism may be made of each of these institutions?
- 17 Explain the work of the probation officer. What is meant by probation, parole, and the indeterminate sentence?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 To what belief did Justice Holmes refer when he cited the Quakers as capable of good citizenship? What is the general content of the Sermon on the Mount? Would it serve as a basis for good citizenship?
- 2 Is the person who refused to bear arms an objectionable citizen? Should such persons be denied naturalization? Give reasons.
- 3 Report on the examinations which are given in some states to applicants for motor licenses.
- 4 Which of the rights of citizens discussed in this chapter do you consider most fundamental? Justify your answer.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Report on the work of the health department in your city. What does it do to protect the health of citizens? What regulations with a view to preventing fires are in force in your city in connection with the erection of buildings?
- 2 Do you know of any injunctions ever having been issued in your community? For what purpose?
- 3 Report how extensively the probation system has been used in your county and how successful it has been.

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Chapter 10 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To survey the military protection afforded citizens by the federal government
- 2 To portray the causes and results of war.
- 3 To consider ways of maintaining peace

THE citizen expects his government to protect him. This means to protect him not only from dangers in America but also from the aggression of other nations. Actually the citizens of the United States are extraordinarily free from the danger of foreign invasion. None has ever been attempted or seriously threatened in the past one hundred years. Yet the citizens of so many nations have been despoiled in the past, citizens of Belgium, France, Russia, China, to say nothing of almost all the so-called "backward" nations, that none of us can quite conquer a fear that it might happen to us. Many Americans honestly believed that Germany in 1914 planned eventually to invade the United States. However unfounded these fears may be, the citizen has a right to expect his government to protect him from any possible foreign foe. Recognizing the need of protection, the framers of the Constitution of the United States provided in Article I, Section 8 that

The Congress shall have the power —

- (10) To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations,
- (11) To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water,
- (12) To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years,
- (13) To provide and maintain a navy,
- (14) To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces,
- (15) To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions,
- (16) To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress,

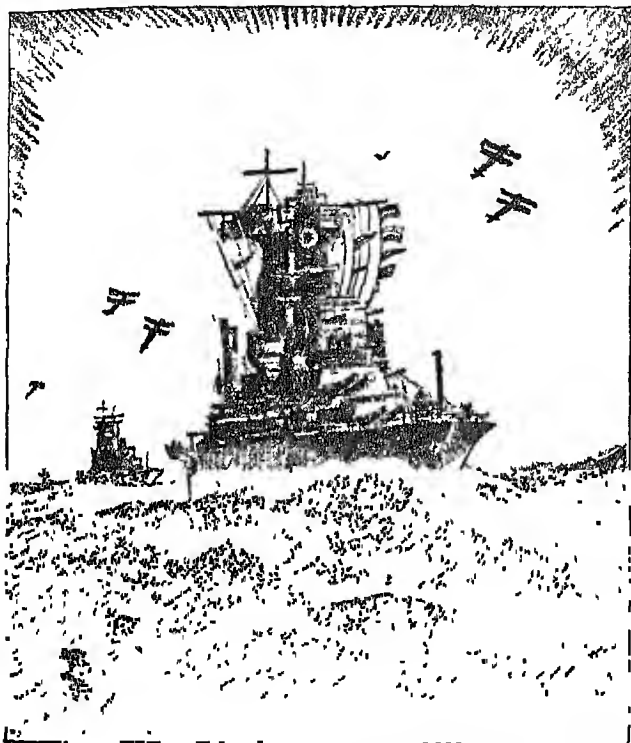
The Constitution further provides in Article II, Section 2 that

The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States

OUR PROTECTIVE SERVICES

The Navy The navy has been called "the first line of defense" The peculiar geographical position of the United States, being separated by water from every other great power, indicates the strategic importance of the navy in a program of national defense. Only two countries could possibly invade the United States by land, Canada and Mexico Neither is strong enough to consider such a suicidal procedure Nor has either any inclination to do so The 3000 miles of unfortified boundary between the United States and Canada is a fine token of the warm friendship between the two nations Land invasion of the United States is unthinkable To some this means that no armed forces at all are necessary for national defense Others, however, contend that a strong navy and the skeleton of an army constitute necessary and proper protection The navy of the United States consists of about 300 ships of all kinds which are manned by about 10,000 officers and 90,000 men There are, in addition, the Marine Corps of about 17,000 officers and men, and 50,000 persons in the Naval Reserve It costs from

\$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000 to build a modern cruiser and about \$4,000,000 to build a submarine. We have about forty of the former and about sixty of the latter now in service or being constructed. President Roosevelt, himself a former Assistant Secretary of the Navy and a "big navy" man, has persuaded Congress to authorize



Courtesy Green Bay Press Gazette

THE FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE

the building of thirty-seven additional ships.¹ The Navy Department maintains a college for training naval officers at Annapolis.

The Army. The standing army consists of about 12,000 officers and 160,000 men. The national guard of the states totals nearly 200,000 more. The organized reserves, R O T C, and the reserve officers add about 120,000 more, making a total army of nearly

¹ This has also been defended as part of the program of public works to stimulate employment.

450,000 men Many persons doubt the wisdom of maintaining so large an army in time of peace However, the army of the United States, in proportion to our population, is much smaller than that of most European countries The War Department conducts the various military training projects throughout the country and also trains army officers at West Point

The Air Service. Both the army and the navy have air forces The technique of modern warfare tends to emphasize the importance of aviation Competent persons have consistently criticized the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of our air defense Charges and countercharges have been hurled back and forth between the high officers of the aviation corps and their critics, and all of it seems to reveal a need for improvement However large or small an air force we wish to maintain does not alter the necessity that what air force we have should be thoroughly trained, skillful, and reliable

Fortifications. At one time forts were built rather extensively as a means of protection Such fortifications were constructed in the United States along coast lines, at the mouths of rivers, on certain islands, and near canals This practice has largely disappeared and many forts have been permitted to decay The forts which remain are used largely as barracks and as training stations Forts offer little protection against modern methods of attack

Military Training. No feature of our defense system has been more criticized than the extension of military training in schools and colleges, particularly since the World War This has been especially objected to when it has been made compulsory The benefits and disadvantages of military training can be fairly debated It is claimed for such training that it is healthful and interesting, that it disciplines mind and body, as well as that it provides trained men for possible future war service These claims are disputed by the opponents of military training who maintain that other physical activity is more healthful and, to most persons at least, more attractive and probably more beneficial Its future military value, from a technical point of view, considering rapid changes in military technique, is probably negligible There seem to be good reasons for offering it on a voluntary basis for those who enjoy it, and the trend in general is in that direction.

Jingoism. An objection often made to military training, and indeed to all armed forces, is that they may lead to a state of mind

called *jingoism*. Jingoism is the belief that "my" nation contains within its borders the best race that the world has yet known, that all other nations are inferior, selfish, intolerant, and narrow-minded. Jingoists favor preparedness for war by advocating ever larger armies and navies, constant military training, the persecution of minority races, the expansion of territories, and the scrupulous protection of "national honor." They are opposed to pacificism, international co-operation, and attempts at world peace through international organizations, because they fear that by following these, their own nation will lose some of its independence and prestige. Jingoism breeds jealousy and lack of understanding, both of which are steps toward war.

The warlike spirit of jingoism, in the event of any international friction, is furthered by propaganda. After the World War opened, belligerent and neutral countries were flooded with news stories, articles, speeches, cartoons, and pictures consciously directed toward stirring enmities toward rival nations. The citizens were told through official government channels, through the church, through the press, and through every medium of communication of hundreds of incidents, "atrocities," deliberately designed to arouse hatred toward their enemies. Many of the incidents were falsehoods. However, most governments still use propaganda as a vital weapon in waging modern warfare.

THE COST OF WAR

Cost of War. The major calamity that threatens nations in the present era is war. It is one that governments and peoples of the world are endeavoring to understand and prevent. There are many things to be noted in considering the cost of war: first, there is the direct loss of life, second, the direct loss in money, third, the indirect loss in money through maladjusted industry, fourth, the social and moral losses involved, and fifth, the loss involved in breeding new wars.

Loss of Life. The loss of life in the World War was about 26,000,000 men, 13,000,000 of whom were soldiers killed by shot and shell, and by disease, 13,000,000 were civilians killed by diseases directly caused by the war. In these totals were included the cream of the world's young manhood. War takes the best of the

race In the World War young machinists, laborers, poets, scholars, business men, professional men, ministers, Red Cross nurses, and doctors were mowed down by machine gun, rifle, cannon, or disease Personal bravery avails little in a war of machines Many question whether the world can continue to afford such colossal loss of life

Direct Loss in Money In money the World War cost approximately \$225,000,000,000 worth of goods that people spent time, labor, and cash to perfect These goods were used not for the purpose of making life more comfortable and interesting for the race, but for the purpose of destroying life, happiness, and comfort of human beings The cost of the World War was one-twelfth of the total wealth of the United States, one-third of Great Britain's, one-fifth of France's, one-fourth of Italy's, one-eighth of Russia's, and one-third of Germany's No wonder the world has experienced the greatest financial depression it has ever known when such vast sums were spent in unproductive ways

Indirect Loss in Money. Business men usually do not spend money unless they expect to get a return on their investment England invested about 20 per cent of her total wealth in the World War, not to mention the millions of her young manhood that were killed What did she gain? She increased the interest on her national debt from about 24½ million pounds in 1914 to 349½ million pounds in 1921 England is dependent upon foreign trade for her livelihood The war destroyed her best customers in Europe Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia Other countries, chiefly the United States and Japan, took many of her over-seas customers Before the war England was competing successfully with them, but the war injured her so that she lost much of her trade The result of this condition has been her millions of unemployed Since the war, British exports have barely reached 75 per cent of the amount shipped before the war Thus the war cost her about one-fourth of her foreign trade If this is the cost of war to one of the "victors," what did it cost the vanquished?

Social and Moral Losses What are the social and moral losses involved in war? Picture millions of young men who were in school, and college, and millions more who were just getting started in business and professions taken miles from home and put in cantonments to drill for war! Many were separated from wives and

families. Their normal lives were disrupted and they were cast into the temptations and evils of an unnatural life. Disease and sickness spread in some training camps. Who can estimate the value of the wasted years spent in the army to the millions of young men involved in the last war—thousands of whom had to spend years getting back to where they were before the war! Other thousands



Courtesy Birmingham Age Herald

FIND THE WINNERS

were never able to resume normal life again. The effect of the carnage and destruction that the soldiers experienced in the trenches and dugouts at the front must be added to the cost.

Wars Do Not Settle Disputes. If a war settled the disputes involved it might be possible to say that it accomplished something—but it seldom does. Who can look at Germany and France today and say that the war settled their rivalry? Germany looks longingly at the territory lost in the war and will not be satisfied until

she regains it. It can probably not be regained save by another war. Authorities agree that rivalries are more intense, hatreds more passionate, and armies larger than they were before the World War.

ADVANTAGES CLAIMED FOR WAR

If warfare is so costly and so terrible, why do civilized nations fight? The advocates of war claim that war, even if horrible and destructive, has its brighter side. They maintain that war has been essential to national growth. They declare that the greatest nations have been and are the greatest fighters. War is an incentive to scientific progress. Medicine, surgery, chemistry, and mechanics are all stimulated during periods of armed conflict. War is thought to develop the spirit of co-operation and the ideals of citizenship. It develops character which comes through the virtue of military discipline that makes for the sublimation of self for the good of all in achieving a common goal. War develops *morale*. This is builded upon three essentials—the will to win, the strength to endure, and the courage to die. War is believed to promote brotherhood. Nowhere is brotherhood more perfectly illustrated, according to militarists, than in the brotherhood of arms—where men die for each other. War is claimed to develop a sense of duty to one's community because of the spirit of patriotism aroused.

Militarists ask if the world can "afford to do without this heroic school from which its sons are graduated into the noblest manhood." Militarists also maintain that when perfection has been attained in peace, then the need for war will have vanished, but until that perfection is attained "war will and should remain, not as a curse, but as one of the most effective agents for the advancement of mankind."

CAUSES OF WAR

Imperialism. Present day wars are often caused by *imperialism* and the accompanying propaganda. Modern imperialism is a result of the industrial revolution. Manufacturing nations need two things: (1) raw materials, and (2) markets for manufactured goods. England, France, Germany, Japan, the United States, and other industrial nations sought to gain colonies and "spheres of influence" in

backward nations that would supply raw materials and purchase manufactured articles North Africa, India, China, the East Indies, South Africa, and Latin America are among the important areas over which the industrialized nations have struggled for economic and political control The industrial nations exploited these territories by taking their raw materials, building railroads, establishing



Courtesy the NEA Service, Inc

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

A cartoon by Herblock in the *Winfield Daily Courier*

factories, and otherwise "developing" them solely for profit. As these nations became more highly industrialized and as the unexploited sections of the world became fewer in number, intense competition resulted, some of which led to warfare—sometimes between rival imperialistic nations, as the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 and the World War, or between exploited nations and industrial nations as the Boxer Rebellion in China, the Boer War in South Africa, and lesser disorders between the United States and

some of the Latin-American Republics. It was from this industrial expansion that western nations were able to stimulate inventions, to standardize production, and raise their standards of living.

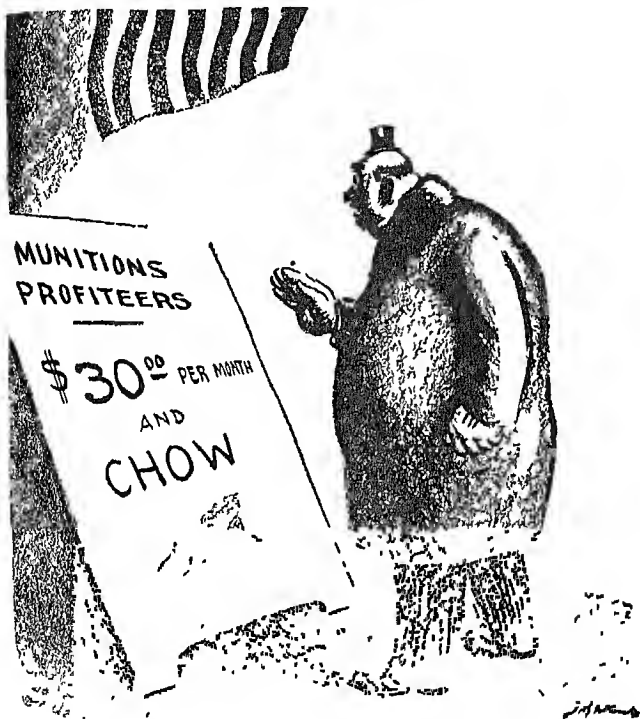
War Propaganda. When imperialistic commercial interests feel that their trading privileges in a foreign land are threatened by the encroachments of other foreign interests, or by local business or the local government, they usually try to build up sentiment in their own country to protect their trade and investments. This is done through propaganda that causes all nationalists to desire vengeance upon the offending people. Generally the real cause of the friction is kept in the background. Usually some unrelated "incident" is seized upon as cause for a misunderstanding between the two nations, such as the killing of a missionary, the kidnapping of a citizen, or some insult to the nation's "honor." Through articles, speeches, radio addresses, cartoons, and other means of publicity, the people are led to demand that the nation act to protect their commercial and industrial interests in a foreign land.

Secret Diplomacy. Secret diplomacy is concerned chiefly with making secret defensive and offensive alliances for the purpose of securing aid in the event of war. Thus before the World War, Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Italy had a series of secret treaties stating what territories and concessions each was to receive in event of war. Russia, France, and England also had treaties of a similar nature. Italy was "promised" more by the latter group, so during the war she deserted her former friends and joined the Allies. Secret diplomacy has been banned by the League of Nations. However, some nations may violate this provision.

National Honor. Nations believe that each state is sovereign and that an insult to an official of a nation or to a nation's flag is just cause for war. More often than not the "insult" is used as an excuse to acquire the territory of a weaker nation or to insist upon special trading privileges. Questions involving national honor should be easily arbitrated.

Militarism. Militarism is the building up of vast fighting machines—the avowed purpose of which is to protect the homeland and colonies of an imperialistic nation. The industrial nations have the largest armies and navies. The chief naval powers of the world are England, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy. All of these have, or are building, powerful air fleets. Germany's military

strength has been held down since the World War, but in the period since Hitler has come into power, she has been rearming rapidly, and in a short time is expected to rival the other nations of Europe in military strength. Each nation maintains that its fleet and army are for defense only, but that their rivals' military



Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

TAKING THE ROMANCE OUT OF WAR

machines are for offensive purposes. No government dares to allow its people to think that it is an aggressor in a war. The World War was a defensive war for every nation concerned—if we are to believe the statesmen and military leaders of the various countries.

Munitions Manufacturers. Recent disclosures in various countries have shown how much war spirit has been fostered by the industrialists of many countries who manufacture munitions and other war supplies for profit. Peace is the last thing they desire. The

activities of Sir Basil Zaharoff in fomenting and encouraging the World War have finally come to light. A. M. Shearer testified that some American munitions makers hired him to do what he could to "wreck" the Geneva Disarmament Conference. *Fortune Magazine* published a sensational article¹ charging many important munition firms with fostering international ill-will. A Senate Committee, of which Senator Nye was chairman, in 1934 and 1935 uncovered additional evidence of the activities of the armament manufacturers.

Excess Population. Due to increased population many nations have desired to gain new lands for the purpose of colonization. England has acquired vast territories which today are largely inhabited by people of English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh descent. Russia spread over the comparatively uninhabited area of Siberia. One of Japan's avowed reasons for seizing Manchukuo was for the purpose of providing room for her population to expand. Italy eyes Ethiopia as a possible field for colonization, and some people believe that Rhodes and its neighboring islands were seized by Italy at the close of the World War as a possible base for operations of a similar nature in Asia Minor. Such conquests cannot but result in war.

MEANS OF AVOIDING WAR

Peace Movements. The government of the United States has been active in the promotion of peace throughout the world. In 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt succeeded in making peace between Japan and Russia, resulting in the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth (N. H.). President Woodrow Wilson was instrumental in organizing the League of Nations (discussed later in this section). Secretary of State Kellogg was active in promoting the Pact of Paris to outlaw war.

The Pan-American Union was established in 1889 for the promotion of harmony among the nations of the American continents. The Union was developed primarily through the activities of Secretary of State James G. Blaine. Frequent Congresses of the Union have been held. They have sometimes led to a closer understanding between the United States and the Latin-American re-

¹"Arms and the Men," *Fortune Magazine*, March, 1934.

publics. Secretary Hughes at Havana in 1928 and Secretary Hull at Montevideo in 1933 succeeded in largely overcoming the suspicion that the United States was using the Monroe Doctrine for her own selfish economic purposes.

This good feeling toward the United States by the Latin-American republics was further strengthened by the Wilson Day speech of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in December, 1933, when he declared that it was the policy of the United States to maintain the position of "good neighbor" toward the nations in North and South America and that the preservation of internal stability of American nations was not the sole responsibility of the United States. President Roosevelt declared

The maintenance of constitutional government in other nations is not a sacred obligation devolving upon the United States alone. The maintenance of law and the orderly processes of government in this hemisphere is the concern of each individual nation within its own borders first of all.

It is only if and when the failure of orderly processes affect the other nations of the continent that it becomes their concern, and the point to stress is that in such an event it becomes the joint concern of a whole continent in which we are all neighbors.

In the enunciation of this policy President Roosevelt declared that the government of the United States would from now on be unalterably opposed to armed intervention in dealing with her neighbors. Internal disturbances in her sister states would be the concern of all. This policy has done much to relieve the strain that has at times existed between the United States and the Latin-American republics.

Further in the same speech President Roosevelt made three significant proposals for peace. These were made after he declared that 90 per cent of the world was desirous of eliminating war and that war is made by governments and not by peoples. The proposals were

1. Let every nation agree to eliminate over a short period of years, and by progressive steps, every weapon of offense in its possession and to create no additional weapons of offense. This does not guarantee a nation against invasion unless you implement it with the right to fortify its own borders with permanent and non-mobile defenses, and also with the right to assure itself through international continuing inspection

that its neighbors are not creating nor maintaining offensive weapons of war

2 A simple declaration that no nation will permit any of its armed forces to cross its own borders into the territory of another nation. Such an act would be regarded by humanity as an act of aggression and, as an act, therefore, that would call for condemnation by humanity.

3 It is clear, of course, that no such agreement for the elimination of aggression and for the weapons of offensive warfare would be of any value to the world unless every nation, without exception, entered into the agreement by solemn obligation.

If then such an agreement were signed by a great majority of nations on a definite condition that it would go into effect only when signed by all nations, it would be a comparatively easy matter to determine which nations in this enlightened time are willing to go on record as belonging to the small minority of mankind which still believes in the use of the sword for invasion of and attack upon their neighbors.

Other movements in this country toward peace have taken the form of societies that have preached the horrors of war, that have urged membership in international peace organizations, and that have advocated refusal to fight on the part of potential soldiers. Agitation through meetings, pamphlets, papers, and magazine articles is used. Various other methods, such as propaganda through questionnaires sent to ministers, college students, teachers, and others, in which votes are taken as to their stand in case of war, are also used. Societies such as the National Council for the Prevention of War¹ and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom keep up an agitation to prevent any increase in the army and the navy. Peace organizations maintain a lobby in Washington to work for measures that promote peace.

Some of the proposals made by peace societies for the prevention of war are

- (1) The refusal of people to join the army
- (2) The refusal to lend money to warring nations
- (3) The economic boycotting of warring nations
- (4) The abolition of armaments
- (5) The government ownership and operation of munitions and arms plants, thus taking much of the private profit out of war
- (6) The teaching of the horrors and futility of war
- (7) The joining of international organizations working for peace

¹ See Appendix C

Pacific Settlement of Disputes. There will probably always be international disputes. Most of these can be settled pleasantly by an interchange of notes or by a joint conference. Out of these orderly diplomatic channels a treaty or an informal "understanding" may emerge. By 1930 over 10,000 treaties had been made between various nations and dozens of new ones are being made each year.

Then there is *arbitration*. In the last seventy years nations have begun to refer their disputes to neutral persons, or to arbitration committees for settlement. Great Britain has peacefully settled seventy disputes through arbitration and the United States almost as many. In 1899 the Permanent Court of Arbitration was set up at The Hague to simplify the use of arbitration, each nation submitting to the Secretary of the Court a list of competent persons who could well be selected as arbitrators.

International Organizations. The nations have also been successful in setting up and co-operating in various international organizations. The Universal Postal Union was established in 1863 and has since successfully harmonized all postal difficulties between countries arising out of the sending of mail from country to country. The Universal Telegraphic Union (1865) has done the same for telegraph service. All told there are nearly fifty official bodies of this sort including the International Sanitary Union (1892), the International Labor Office (1900), the International Opium Commission (1909), and others. The culmination of this co-operation was the creation in 1919 of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations. After the war several of the allied leaders, notably General Smuts of South Africa and President Wilson of the United States, were anxious that an international organization be developed to promote peace and international co-operation. The Covenant of the League of Nations was written into the Treaty of Versailles, which was not ratified by the United States. Every important nation has been a member of the League with the exception of the United States.

The League is organized with an executive branch consisting of the Council and the Secretariat, a legislative branch, the Assembly, and a judicial body, the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The Council consists of five permanent members and nine temporary members elected by the Assembly. Its chief duties are to settle

disputes, to take action to prevent war, and to develop plans for the limitation of armaments

The Assembly is composed of delegates from member states. It meets in Geneva annually in September. It elects new members to the League, the temporary members of the Council, the judges of the Permanent Court, considers amendments to the Covenant, the revision of treaties, and handles the finances. It works largely through committees. The Assembly also investigates international disputes, most of which have already been considered by the Council.

The purpose of the League is three-fold: (1) to insure the fulfillment of treaty obligations, (2) to promote international co-operation, and (3) to provide a safeguard against war.

The League has also been active in sponsoring international co-operation through promoting health, improving labor conditions, controlling drugs, encouraging education, and in other matters of international concern. This work has been chiefly of a fact-finding and advisory nature.

In providing safeguards against war the League has been only partly successful. Its decisions in regard to Memel and other minor disputes in Europe have been accepted. But in the Sino-Japanese dispute over Manchuria, it failed. This dispute led to the withdrawal of Japan from the League after an unfavorable recommendation had been made by the League's investigating committee.

The League's inability to agree to revision of the Treaty of Versailles led to the withdrawal of Germany. The withdrawal of Japan and Germany and the failure of the League to unite in solving these two major problems greatly weakened the prestige of the League in the eyes of the world. This prestige was somewhat regained through the successful handling of the crisis between Yugoslavia and Hungary following the assassination of King Alexander in Marseilles in 1934, and through the peaceful settlement of the Saar dispute between France and Germany through a plebiscite conducted by the League.

The World Court. The Permanent Court of International Justice consists of fifteen judges selected by the League of Nations and paid by it. But in every other respect the Court is separate from the League. It meets at The Hague while the League meets at

Geneva A nation may join the Court without joining the League of Nations This is precisely what Presidents Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt recommended should be done by the United States However, the Senate has always refused to follow these recommendations, the last refusal taking place in January, 1935

In its first ten years of existence the Court has successfully adjudicated thirty-two cases that were submitted to it It is hoped by the friends of the Court that it will develop a body of rules and precedents which will be of great value in settling future disputes The high ability and character of the judges who have served on it and the careful, intelligent decisions that the Court has so far rendered do much to justify this hope¹

The Pact of Paris The Pact of Paris (sometimes called the Kellogg-Briand Treaty) is a brief treaty condemning the recourse to war as a solution of international disputes, and declaring that all disputes shall be settled by pacific means Sixty-two nations have signed this treaty Nations have interpreted the pact as condemning wars of aggression only As wars are seldom wars of aggression in the eyes of the participants, the chief effect of this treaty will probably be the stirring up of world sentiment against the warring nations This sentiment was aroused against Japan in its conquest of Manchuria and Jehol, and may have deterred Japan at that time from conquering larger portions of China

International Good Will Peace pacts, disarmaments, treaties, the League of Nations, international postal unions, and other international agreements are all means of aiding nations to co-operate with each other The closer nations are brought together by improved transportation and communication facilities, the more need there will be for further means of peaceful intercourse and understanding It is our duty as citizens of a great nation with thousands of contacts with other countries to be alert to world affairs and world problems We are becoming more than ever *citizens of the world* We must study ways of maintaining international good will and of keeping the United States a "good neighbor" in the community of nations.

¹ Three Americans, John Bassett Moore, Charles Evans Hughes, and Frank B. Kellogg, have served as judges on this Court

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 What are the provisions in the Constitution for national defense?
- 2 Why does the United States maintain a much stronger navy than army?
- 3 What is the status of the air service in the national defense?
- 4 What arguments may be given pro and con for civilian military training?
- 5 What is meant by jingoism? Why is it likely to encourage war?
- 6 What is the cost of war in life, money, and social and moral qualities as illustrated by the World War?
- 7 Do wars usually succeed in permanently settling disputes? Explain.
- 8 What are some of the advantages to a nation that may be gained through warfare?
- 9 Explain how imperialism is a cause of wars.
- 10 What part does propaganda play in furthering imperialistic wars?
11. What part did secret diplomacy play in developing the spirit of war among the European nations before the World War?
- 12 How is "National Honor" used as an excuse for war?
- 13 Explain what is meant by militarism. How may it breed wars?
- 14 How may an excessively large population lead a nation to war?
- 15 What part have American statesmen played in promoting peace? What is President Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy?
- 16 What proposals are made by peace societies for the prevention of war?
- 17 Explain the organization and work of the League of Nations.
- 18 What is the scope of the work for peace covered by the World Court?
- 19 What probable effect do you believe the Pact of Paris will have on world peace?
- 20 Do you see any fundamental causes for war that will probably have to be eliminated before organizations like the League of Nations, the World Court, and treaties such as the Pact of Paris will be effective?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Criticize the following quotation from a speech by Theodore Roosevelt. Wherein do you think he is right or wrong? Justify your attitude.
 "It must be ever kept in mind that war is not merely justifiable but imperative upon honorable men and upon an honorable nation

when peace is only to be obtained by the sacrifice of the conscientious conviction of national welfare. A just war is in the long run far better for a Nation's soul than the most prosperous peace obtained by acquiescence in wrong or injustice. It must be remembered to be defeated in war is better than not to have fought at all."

- 2 Critically discuss each of the following statements

"Only a warlike nation gets along in the world. I simply do not believe in the Utopia of eternal peace for all people." DR. HUGO ECKENER

"All persons who foresee the next great war and would have us prepare for it should be executed." GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

"Military technique! How competent in peace to gain war—how impotent in war to gain victory." CAPTAIN B. H. L. HARR

"There was never a good war or a bad peace." BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

"For what can war but endless wars still breed?" JOHN MILTON

"Fools! Would you live forever?" FREDERICK THE GREAT (to his soldiers)

- 3 Question for panel discussion. Is it true that modern civilization is in a race between (1) a "United States of the World" that can control world conflicts, and (2) the destruction of the world by mechanized warfare?
- 4 Question for debate. Resolved, That international agreements such as the Pact of Paris are incapable of assuring world peace

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. Discuss the question of war, if possible, with some World War veterans who saw service at the front. What were their impressions of war? What do they suggest as a means of securing world peace?
2. If there is a local unit of the National Guard in your community or a neighboring town what service does it offer as means of protection? How are the men trained? What is the strength of the National Guard in your state? What are its major activities?

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Chapter 11. PROTECTING THE CONSUMER

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To observe the weaknesses of the laissez-faire policy.
- 2 To examine some of the problems facing the consumer
3. To show what the government does to aid the consumer
- 4 To consider further steps that the government may take in consumer protection

IT HAS been only in recent years that the government has given any thought to protecting the consumer. While citizens have for centuries expected their governments to protect them from law-breakers at home and from aggressive foreign nations, it was assumed that they, as consumers, were capable of judging for themselves as to the purity and quality of the articles they purchased. This was a part of the economic philosophy which prevailed during most of the nineteenth century, the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

Laissez Faire. This is a French term which may be freely translated as "do not interfere." It is the belief that government should not interfere with business. Some of its advocates have expressed it in such slogans as, "Let the government govern and let business men run business," or "Less government in business and more business in government," or even, "That government is best which

governs least" Carried out consistently, which it never has been, the laissez-faire philosophy would prohibit all government aid to business (see Chapter 15), all government regulation of business, such as the supervision of railroads, utilities, banks, and every form of factory and labor legislation (see Chapter 12)

The theory of laissez faire is plausible and attractive Let men pursue their own interests They will start industries, employ workers, and produce goods All people, capitalists, workers, and consumers, will look out for themselves and all will be well A London textbook of 1850 called *Easy Lessons on Money Matters for Young People* stated, "It is curious to observe how, through the wise and beneficent arrangements of Providence, men thus do the greatest service to the public when they are thinking of nothing but their own gain" It is something of a "survival-of-the-fittest" philosophy

Caveat Emptor. The laissez-faire theory as applied to the relations between buyers and sellers has often been described by the Latin term *caveat emptor* or "let the buyer beware" It was a logical result of the theory of free competition and self-interest Consumers were supposed to be capable of looking out for themselves in the market We know now that this is not true Few consumers know what is and what is not pure They are also ignorant as to variations in quality A very popular book dealing with the subject of consumer buying raises these questions to illustrate the ignorance of consumers ¹

Why do you buy one make of automobile rather than another? Why do you draw up beside a filling station pump which is painted red rather than one which is painted yellow? Why do you buy the tooth paste you are using—what do you know about its relative merit compared with other tooth pastes—do you know if it has, beyond a pleasant taste, any merit at all? Have you any evidence, except blind hope, that the package of insecticide under your arm will actually rid a house of flies? Is this cake of soap really going to give you a school girl complexion? How can you tell what type of electric refrigerator is technically the best within the range of what you can afford to pay, or oil heater, or vacuum cleaner, or electric washer, or radio set? Do you know what kind of paint or varnish you ought to have for the floors, the studio walls, the picket fence, the kitchen shelves? How many washings will these shirts survive, how many ball games those stockings for Junior, how many shaves that safety razor blade? What does "solid

¹From Chase, Stuart, and Schlunk, F J, *Your Money's Worth*, pp 1-2 By permission of the Macmillan Company, publishers

mahogany" mean to you, and what does it mean to the furniture trade? What do you know about the ultimate effect on cells and tissues of that fat reducer?

One who goes into the market to buy a motor car to-day is naturally confused. He has read the words *best* and *greatest* so often that they have ceased to be convincing. Where *all* is best, he reflects, there can be no best. Thousand dollar cars have been described to him in ten thousand dollar language. And vice versa. He finds himself the target in a war of adjectives, the helpless victim in a gigantic competition of words. And so he is forced to rely on chance—the advice of his friends—or his own limited experience.

Thus an automobile advertiser frankly states the case of what confronts the consumer—not only in automobiles, but in household appliances, textiles, shoes, soap, tooth powder, building materials, food-stuffs—to a greater or less degree in nearly everything he buys. It confronts Park Avenue no less than the Bowery, the farmer no less than the city dweller. It affects every man, woman, and child in the country. We are all Alices in a Wonderland of conflicting claims, bright promises, fancy packages, soaring words, and almost impenetrable ignorance.

When the consumer is said to be an Alice in Wonderland there is no suggestion of criticism of the consumer's lack of education or even of what has been called his "economic illiteracy." It is only to point out that we are all faced with an almost infinite variety of articles of different shape, size, style, design, make, and price. Who can possibly be well-informed in regard to all of them? A large New York department store sells 350,000 different articles. Even in smaller cities a consumer must choose from 200 kinds of tooth brushes, over 100 kinds of washing machines, 60 makes of pianos, 150 kinds of fountain pens, and so on through the hundreds of articles which some families buy every year or oftener. Thus Mr. X may become an expert buyer of automobiles, his neighbor may master the different varieties of cotton textiles, his wife may learn a great deal about canned peaches, but how is anyone to become an expert buyer of every article included in his purchases?

Breakdown of Laissez Faire. There are many reasons why the laissez-faire system has been diastically modified and government has reached farther and farther into business. For one thing the better capitalists asked the government to protect them from less humane competitors. The labor laws which have been passed to protect the workers will be discussed in Chapter 12. The ways in which business has asked for and received government aid will be

studied in Chapter 15. Many groups of citizens have urged the government to step into rather than keep out of business. In this chapter, however, we are concerned with what government has done to protect the consumer.

Food and Drug Inspection. Just as some selfish employers under *laissez faire* were guilty of exploiting the labor of children until their more humane competitors demanded that the government enact laws to prevent it, so a few unscrupulous canners and meat-packers were guilty of selling adulterated, spoiled, and poisonous food. Some of this was done knowingly with full knowledge of the effects on the consumers. Even after the facts were published, some manufacturers neglected to make their products wholesome and safe because they said it would increase their production costs. Some went further and actively opposed the various attempts to enact state and federal pure food laws. Indeed it was only after many years of persistent effort that Dr. Harvey W. Wiley and his cohorts succeeded in persuading Congress to enact the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906. This law has since been supplemented by many others, such as the Meat Inspection Act, the Packers and Stockyards Act, and the Tea Inspection Act. The enforcement of these laws falls to the Federal Food and Drug Administration which is in the Department of Agriculture.

How active this bureau has been in trying to protect the consumer is shown by the fact that in the first twenty years of federal inspection of food and drugs over 300,000 samples were analyzed and 23,000 cases were prosecuted. Some of the violations they found were almost incredible. They analyzed a so-called gelatine and found it made chiefly of glue as well as containing poisonous zinc and copper. They found a coffee on the market made of a mixture of ground dried peas and rice hulls with a little coffee to give it a coffee taste and odor. They located a tomato ketchup which tested 150,000,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter.

Despite the activity of the Federal Food and Drug Administration and in spite of the improved quality of meat, milk, canned goods, and drugs since 1907, we are still far from having adequate food and drugs inspection. About a third of all meat sold is not inspected at all and even meat which has the federal stamp of approval is sometimes adulterated by the retailer or restaurant owner. Fresh color can be restored to spoiled meat by the addition of certain chemicals

In 1933 the Massachusetts Department of Health found sulphur dioxide in fifteen out of twenty-six samples of hamburger¹ The Indiana Board of Health inspected 418 dairies during October, 1932, and found the following ratings

Excellent	.	.	None
Good			10
Fair			136
Poor			186
Bad			86

There are many other ways in which food inspection is inadequate. The practice of spraying fruits and vegetables has brought the danger of residues of lead arsenate and other poisons capable of killing insects and at least deranging a human stomach. This is true of apples, pears, lettuce, cabbage, celery, and other products, all of which should be washed carefully before eating. There is also the problem of proper handling of foods by the retail stores, hotels, bakeries, and restaurants so that they are still wholesome and pure when they reach the consumer. This lies in the field of local regulation.

State and Local Inspection Services. In addition to what the federal government does in this field many states and cities inspect water, milk, and ice cream. Great progress has been made in this, but several thousand people die each year of typhoid, and in general our typhoid rate is considerably higher than European countries.² In addition there is still sold in some states milk which comes from tuberculous cows, although some states (such as Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa) have virtually eliminated this danger.

Quite as important as inspecting food is the inspection of hotels, restaurants, bakeries, confectioneries, and other places serving or preparing foods. The kitchens of such places should be inspected for cleanliness and sanitation. The persons who work in them should be given periodic physical examinations. They should at all times be clean and well. This sort of inspection rarely occurs in small places and is frequently inadequate in large cities. The 278 cities with population of 30,000 and over spent in 1930 as follows

¹ *Annals of the American Academy*, 173: 28, May, 1934.

² The typhoid rate in New York is 2½ times that of London. The Chicago rate is 3, Boston 5, and Philadelphia 7 times that of London. Yet the rate in London is higher than Berlin, Vienna, Hamburg, The Hague, and other European cities.

PROTECTION AND SECURITY

Police Departments	\$222,411,995
Fire Departments	154,227,724
Inspection	18,864,818

Of the pitifully small amount spent for inspection over half was spent on building inspection, and only a bare \$4,500,000 on inspecting food

Railroad Regulation. The consumer is in need of more than mere protection against impure food and drugs. He buys a great variety of goods and services and is open to many varieties of excessive charges and, in some cases, fraud. One item which concerns nearly every citizen is that of railroad service. After years of railroad scandals, bribery, graft, secret agreements, and mysterious and unfair "rebates," the federal government entered upon the task of regulating the railroads. For this purpose it created the Interstate Commerce Commission. This body, although hampered by adverse court decisions and opposition from the railroads, finally established regulation. It set uniform passenger and freight rates, abolished discriminations of various sorts, and prescribed railroad policies in the interest of the railroads and the public. Recently bus and truck lines, shipping lines, and air companies have been placed under the same control.

The work of the Interstate Commerce Commission has been well done. At all times the Commission has kept in mind the interest of the railroads and has initiated many policies which have improved their safety, their technical development, and even, to a certain degree, their financial well-being. The Commission has not neglected the consumer's point of view. The consumer has obtained fair and honest treatment in railroad matters in contrast with the secret rates, special rebates, and discriminatory favors shown before regulation. Of course the consumer's chief interest is in low passenger and freight rates. Thus the Commission has attempted to secure insofar as the finances of the railroad companies have permitted reduction in rates. While in most European countries the railroads are government owned, in America we have made great progress under a system of private ownership with government regulation.

Regulating Utilities. One of the most important forms of government restraint in the interest of the consumers has been the regulation of the municipal utilities such as water, gas, electricity, telephone service, and street-railways (see Chapter 5). Starting with

Massachusetts in 1885, all but one of the states have set up state utility commissions (sometimes called "commerce commissions"). These commissions usually have the power to fix rates, to require annual reports from the companies, and to disapprove sales and mergers which are "contrary to the public interest." Some state commissions can also supervise the accounting methods used and the stocks and bonds issued. The chief power, however, is the power to fix rates. All decisions are subject to appeal to the courts. A typical utility commission considers thousands of cases annually.

A difference of opinion exists as to whether or not the state utility commission should assume the power to initiate cases or whether it should wait until a complaint has been made to it. The practice varies in different states. Some commissions consider their function to be that of an umpire, waiting impartially for a dispute to arise upon which they will make a decision. The utility company will either complain that their utility rates are too low or the city officials will complain that the rates are too high or that the service is poor. The two sides will hire lawyers, present evidence, and argue their cases. The commission, detached and impartial, will rule on the case. In a few states the commission has been ordered to send out investigators to find out what communities have high rates or poor service, or what companies are being unfairly treated, and to proceed on its own account to correct these situations.

There are a number of obstacles in the way of effective regulation of utilities by state commissions.

(1) The commissions are frequently incompetent or poorly-suited to their task. Frequently political motives rule in the appointment of utility commissioners and seldom are men chosen who have any engineering, accounting, or legal background in the field of public utilities.

(2) The commissions are inadequately staffed. If expert assistants were available in full-time permanent positions, these might make up for the commission's own incompetence. Some states do have a number of such experts on the commission's staff. Most states do not supply adequate funds for this.

(3) The difficulty of setting a fair valuation on the utility company makes it difficult, if not impossible, to set fair rates. The state law usually provides that the companies shall be permitted to earn a "fair profit" on their investment. What is a "fair profit"? Sup-

pose the commission agrees on 7 per cent. Seven per cent of what? Of the capital stock of the company? This may be "watered," that is, unduly increased for speculative purposes. Shall it be 7 per cent of the original cost of constructing the utility? Or shall it be the replacement cost? Courts have sometimes ordered one or the other of the last two sets of figures to be used.

(4) Inequality of the two sides exists in the hearings before the commission. Utility companies usually have fine lawyers, often men who specialize in this one task of appearing before state commissions in rate cases. Cities have no lawyer at all or perhaps use their city attorney, who is frequently wholly ignorant of the most effective methods of presenting the city's side of the case. The consumers of electricity, gas, telephone services, and water are unorganized and frequently almost indifferent to the whole affair. They fail to back up their officials and the whole complaint lacks aggressiveness.

(5) The complex financial structure of the utility companies makes an accurate idea of their profits difficult to obtain. Their interconnections are so complex. They sometimes own subsidiaries and are themselves owned by another company which may be owned by another which may be owned by a holding company in a distant state. Their profits are distributed in such ways as to defy discovery.

The general opinion of students of the question is that utility commissions are too weak, rather than too severe, in their regulation. They have permitted the companies in some cases to earn large profits by charging exorbitant rates. There have been some cases of graft and corruption. However, some states have had strong commissions. Those of New York, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin have usually been quite active in the public interest.

Government Ownership. A totally different method of regulation has been tried in a few cases, and has been advocated by such men as ex-Governor Alfred Smith of New York and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This method provides for the government, either federal, state, or local, to set up and operate a publicly-owned utility plant to compete with privately-owned companies and to serve as a "yardstick" of what their rates should be.

Government ownership of electric service has grown despite opposition from utility companies. There are now about as many city-owned plants as privately-owned plants, although the private plants are generally much larger. Los Angeles is the largest city with a city-

owned electric plant, but others are Cleveland, San Francisco, Seattle, Columbus, Fort Wayne, and Tacoma. All told there are about 1,800 city-owned plants in the United States.

Some of these cities have been able to charge very low rates and still earn some profit to the city. They have the advantage of being able to borrow funds more cheaply, of no over-capitalization, of



Courtesy New York World Telegram

WHICH IS THE MORE IMPORTANT TO PROTECT?

competent managers at low salaries, and the freedom from the necessity of earning high profits. The private plants can make savings in the smaller places by consolidating plants, serving a number of communities. Thus a number of small places (under 10,000 population) in the state of Iowa tried government ownership and were glad to give it up for a unified private system. In general, the private plants charge lower rates to industrial users, factories, railroads, and

large stores, and the city-owned plants charge less to domestic consumers¹

Trusts and Unfair Competition. A trust might be defined as a combination of persons or corporations which have conspired together to injure the business of some other person or corporation. Trusts are usually monopolies or are tending to become monopolistic in character. This is dangerous to the consumer. If the trust is allowed to monopolize its field it will be in a position to charge the consumer excessive prices and pocket for itself exorbitant profits. This very thing has happened in oil, tobacco, sugar, meat, and aluminum, all articles of common use. While we do not forbid monopolies and a considerable number do exist, we do check their power through our anti-trust laws and the threat of prosecution. A number of companies have been convicted and a number of trusts have been dissolved.

With the passing of the Federal Trade Commission Act in 1914, the government began to check many forms of unfair competition. Many unfair practices were listed in the law, such as bribery, false statements, and secret relationships with competing firms and their employees. Good work has also been done under this law in preventing fraud and misbranding of articles in a small number of industries.

Securities. The sale of stocks and bonds of corporations has always afforded an opportunity to defraud consumers. Smooth-tongued salesmen peddled worthless oil stock, gold-mining stock, and similar fraudulent investments on thousands of gullible customers. Hardly a community in the country has escaped the loss of money through bad investments of this character. Most states have enacted "blue-sky laws" to prevent the sale of securities known to be of no value. The federal government has set severe penalties for the "use of the mails to defraud" persons by the sale of securities or by countless other schemes. In 1933 and 1934 a federal Securities Exchange Commission (S E C) was created to regulate the stock markets and to supervise the issuance and sale of securities. It is estimated that the public has lost more money in stocks and

¹The 1932 figures of the U S Census Bureau show that domestic consumers served by private plants paid an average of 5.6¢ per KWH while those served by public plants paid 4.7¢. The average rates to commercial users were 2.7¢ and 3.1¢ respectively.

bonds than in any other manner. There are many obstacles in the way of correcting this difficulty but some effort is being made.

What Government Might Do for the Consumer. There are a number of persons who, because of their earnest desire to see the consumer receive greater protection than he now enjoys, advocate much stronger government activity in this direction. They consider the regulatory activities which we have been examining as falling far short of real consumer protection. Some of the things they believe it desirable and proper for the government to do are:

(1) *Give out information.* The federal government itself, inasmuch as it is the largest buyer of goods in the country, has developed a number of excellent methods to insure that it obtains good quality and pays fair prices for the goods it buys. For one thing, it usually buys according to specifications which means that if it wishes, for example, to place an order for a large quantity of liquid soap for use in government buildings, it advertises for bids on liquid soap made from specified ingredients, according to whatever formula government tests have proved to be best. Some people ask why these specifications could not be made public so that consumers also could demand the best? And why could not the price which the government pays be published? After all, they say, these specifications are drawn up in public laboratories and at public expense.

(2) *Comparative tests.* The federal Bureau of Standards, which does the major share of the laboratory work for federal purchases, has also made many comparative tests of well-known trade-marked articles. Which is the best brand of gasoline? Laboratory tests will give a comparative rating for all brands. Why, it is asked, could not these tests be made public? At the present time a number of private organizations attempt this very thing. The largest of these is a co-operative organization known as Consumer's Research, Inc., located in Washington, New Jersey. However, their testing work is limited by the fact that their funds come from their small membership fees and are not adequate to carry on comprehensive tests of every product. With most products changing their models, style, quality, and design once a year or oftener, any private organization will find it almost impossible to keep up.

(3) *Grading and labeling.* A proposal which has recently been advocated by the federal Bureau of Home Economics and by the

American Home Economics Association would provide for compulsory grade labeling of all goods sold over the counter. All products would be eligible, if they meet certain standards, to be labeled "Grade A," or if they fell short of these standards but met others, to be labeled "Grade B," and so on. This plan is already in effect in lumber, fruits (in some states), gas burners, meat, and drugs. The letters U S P on drugs mean that the product meets the technical specifications of the United States Pharmacopœia. Under federal inspection a group of co-operating creameries have sold over 800,000,000 pounds of butter stamped with a score of 93 (considered "excellent") or better.

So far this work has been voluntary and frequently not under government control. It is proposed to make grade labeling compulsory for all products sold to the ultimate consumer.

(4) *Truth in advertising.* Another proposal is that the government should be empowered to take action against false statements of advertisers. The case of patent medicines illustrates this need. While it is true that patent medicines may not make false claims on their *labels* (under the Food and Drug Act of 1906) there is no restriction as to what they may claim in their newspaper and magazine advertising. It is interesting to compare occasionally the extravagant advertising claims for medicine, tooth pastes, and mouth-washes with the very moderate statements on the actual packages.

Objections to Further Government Activity. All of the above proposals have aroused opposition. It is worth while to point out some of the objections to their enactment. These are:

(1) *Greater extension of government control over business.* There are many persons who feel that, even if it be granted that the government could function efficiently in the field of greater consumer protection, it is undesirable to further extend government control over business. These persons believe that some measure of *laissez faire* is desirable and that the trend away from it has gone far enough.

(2) *Danger of political control.* In the hands of an unscrupulous bureau, these powers, if granted, would be very dangerous. Inferior goods might be graded as "Grade A" and excellent products might receive low ratings.

(3) *Involves considerable expense.* It would mean additional fed-

eral expense and consequently additional taxes if these activities should be undertaken

Consumer Organizations. It may be that it is the duty of the consumer to protect himself. If so, he needs to organize. Many consumer organizations are in existence in this country and even more in Europe. In addition to Consumer's Research, Inc., and similar organizations engaged in consumer education, there are consumer's co-operatives, which are organizations in which a number of consumers pool their resources to buy goods for themselves at cost. President Roosevelt has called them "bona fide and legitimate co-operative organizations." There are about 1,500 consumer's co-operatives in the United States with about 500,000 members. Their business in 1933 reached \$100,000,000. In Great Britain there are more than 7,000,000 members in such societies doing a total business of over \$1,000,000,000. The London Co-operative Society is the largest in the world with 500,000 members, 12,000 employees, and doing an annual business of over \$50,000,000.

The first successful co-operative society was one formed of working-people in Rochdale, England, in the year 1844. Their plan, which is more or less followed by all successful co-operatives, was based on the following principles:

- (1) Each member has one vote regardless of the amount of money he has invested in the store or the number of shares he owns.

- (2) Shares shall be inexpensive (in some cases as low as \$1) so that all persons interested can join.

- (3) Business shall be for cash only, credit being inexpedient and expensive.

- (4) Goods shall be sold at the usual retail prices and all surplus, after the costs of doing business have been met, shall be returned to the members in proportion to their purchases. This means a savings of from 10 to 20 per cent.

Conclusion. However, the recent history of this country seems to indicate an unmistakable trend toward greater government interference with business. Much of this is in the interest of the consumers. The consumers have never been well-organized, or these governmental activities might have gone much farther. But as citizens they have demanded that their government protect them. This protection they have received in the various ways described above.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 Explain the theory of *laissez faire*. Why has this theory not been consistently applied?
- 2 Explain the meaning of *caveat emptor*.
- 3 Why are consumers not capable of looking out for themselves in all respects?
- 4 Comment on the quotation from Chase and Schlink. What has the federal government done in the field of food and drug inspection? Why was this necessary?
- 5 What do state and local authorities do in the field of food and drug inspection?
- 6 How do the expenditures on fire and police protection compare with those for health protection through inspection?
- 7 What has the federal government done to protect the consumer through regulating railroads?
- 8 What obstacles are in the way of effective regulation of utilities by state commissions?
- 9 Why have governments become owners of utility services? Explain the growth in this direction. What is meant by a "yardstick" in this field?
- 10 What is the danger to the consumer in the development of trusts? What has the government done to control trusts?
- 11 What was the object of the Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914?
- 12 How have governments attempted to protect consumers in the purchase of securities?
- 13 How does the federal government protect itself in purchasing goods? How do some people claim the government might use its information to protect the citizens at large?
- 14 How would the use of standard grades and labels protect the consumer? What has already been done in this connection?
- 15 What could the government do in respect to advertising? How does advertising matter sometimes contrast with the description on the label?
- 16 What objections are sometimes made to further government activities in protecting the consumer?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 What are the weaknesses in the *laissez-faire* theory?
- 2 Justify the work of the government in protecting the consumer.

- 3 How far do you believe the government should go in consumer protection? Set up a program of government protection in this field

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Compare the advertising materials on six articles, such as various tooth pastes or patent medicines, with the statements concerning the same article on the label. Comment on the differences you find there.
- 2 In what ways does your community and state regulate the public utilities that you use? Are any of the utilities government owned? What are the advantages and disadvantages of government ownership from the point of view of the consumer?
- 3 Do any of the grocery stores in your community handle canned goods or other goods that are standardized in quality and so labeled? What are the different grades? How do they differ in price? Are eggs graded according to size? Are they advertised and priced according to size? What are the advantages of such grading?

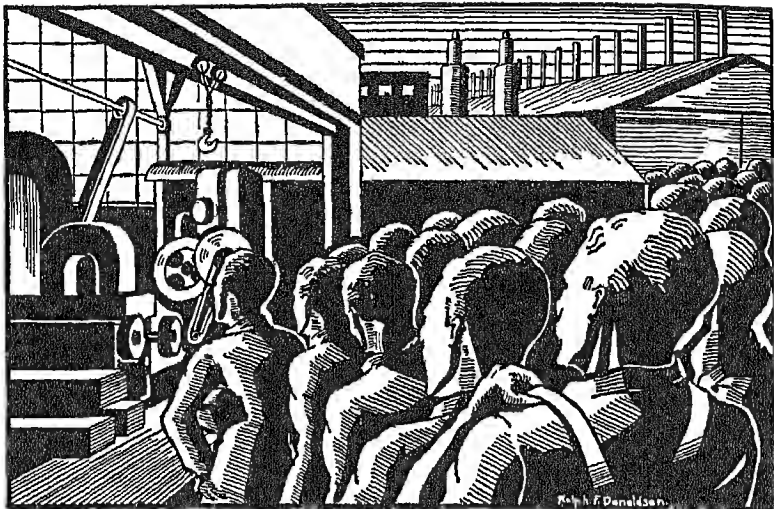
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Chapter 12 SECURITY FOR THE WORKER

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To interpret the needs for various forms of social legislation
- 2 To suggest the work and influence of social workers
- 3 To explain the necessity for long term planning in social welfare

IN THE preceding chapters we showed how the several aims of the government are engaged in protecting the citizen. In this chapter we shall discuss the government's relation to one of the pressing problems of modern living, that of providing protection to the worker from some of the effects of machine production.

The Extent of Protection. Everyone will agree that the chief function of government consists of providing protection for its citizens. The citizen wants to be protected from burglars, robbers, swindlers, and all persons who might injure him or his property. For the protection of the citizens organized society has set up laws, law courts, police systems, fire departments, and other agencies for protecting citizens from injury. In fact all of our laws are enacted with the view to protecting some particular group or groups. (See Chapter 9.)

However, all persons do not agree on how far the government should go in extending protection. The city and state governments

create departments of health, but people are hesitant about the state providing free medical service, even though we have free school service. The state sets up machinery for licensing automobiles, but there are many opponents to the proposals for compulsory automobile insurance. The public approves of recruiting offices for the army and the navy, although some persons oppose the creation of free employment offices. The counties, in their almshouses, have provided homes for the aged and penniless, but some citizens are certain that the government should not do much, if anything, to provide funds for the aged or for the widows and orphans who live outside the almshouses. Governments grant subsidies to industries (see Chapter 15), but many citizens are convinced that we are setting a dangerous precedent when we appropriate money for pensioning public employees, for unemployment reserves, for old age pensions, or for the administration of workmen's compensation laws. Governments are willing to provide small sums of money for routine health inspection, but are averse to building and maintaining isolation hospitals and tuberculosis sanitariums. Many citizens are certain that we ought to spend hundreds of millions of dollars for armaments, but they object to using public funds for relief or for a public works program with a view to providing employment for citizens.

How far should the government extend protection to its citizens? No one can answer that question, but it seems reasonable that protection should be granted in whatever form it seems to be needed. The mechanizing of our industrial production has created many needs which were unknown a century ago.

The Meaning of Social Legislation. Protection in new forms which is provided for the citizen as a result of the mechanization of our society is known, in part at least, as *social legislation*. It consists of laws providing for workmen's compensation insurance, unemployment insurance, health insurance, public relief for widows and orphans, the minimum wage, protection of women and children from dangerous and injurious employment, old age pensions, employment exchanges, and long range public works programs. Each of these will be discussed.

Necessity for Social Security. William Eisenmont is a skilled mechanic in middle life who has had experience of twenty-four years as a tool maker in the car shops of an important railroad system. Because of the decline in railroad traffic and also because of

the depression this man has not had employment at his trade for more than five years. Though he has had odd jobs of work, his savings have been exhausted. He is one of the great army of the unemployed. His aged father, now more than seventy, resides with the son. In the course of rearing their children the Eisenmonts experienced several instances of costly medical and surgical care. Eisenmont has made every effort to keep his three children in school and away from employment in stores or in street trades. Eisenmont's wife has found some employment as a domestic while he has busied himself during the summer months in growing vegetables for the family use.

The Eisenmonts do not want charity. They want an opportunity to maintain themselves. Their hardships would have been less if the father had had the benefits of unemployment insurance together with the services of an intelligently directed employment office to place him in a new position after he became unemployed in the car shops. The burdens of the family would have been eased if the grandfather had received the benefits of some scheme of old age pension. Throughout the years the financial burden might have been less if the Eisenmonts had had the benefits of some scheme of group medicine to tide them over the costly care which they were obliged to provide for their children. This family typifies the need for social legislation.

The Committee on Economic Security. In June, 1934, President Roosevelt appointed a Committee on Economic Security, consisting of Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor, Henry Morgenthau, the Secretary of the Treasury, Homer S. Cummings, the Attorney-General, Henry Wallace, the Secretary of Agriculture; and Harry L. Hopkins, the director of the F. E. R. A., to study the problem of economic security for the citizens and to formulate a program of sound legislation which could be presented to Congress. This committee was assisted by an advisory council of twenty members, including leaders from the fields of industry, labor, social work, and agriculture. The council included in its membership such persons as Frank P. Graham,¹ Walter R. Teagle, Gerard Swope, William Green, Henry Ohl, Jr., Louis J. Taber, Grace Abbott, Paul U. Kellogg, Raymond Moley, and Josephine Roche. In December the

¹ The student should consult *Who's Who in America* in order to identify these persons.

Council recommended legislation covering insurance against unemployment, old age, and some phases of health. When President Roosevelt presented his message to Congress in January, 1935, he made clear the Administration's desire to have enacted a broad program of social insurance when he said

Closely related to the broad problem of livelihood is that of security against the major hazards of life. Here also a comprehensive survey of what has been attempted or accomplished in many nations and in many states proves to me that the time has come for action by the national government. I shall send to you, in a few days, definite recommendations based on these studies. These recommendations will cover the broad subjects of unemployment insurance and old age insurance, of benefits for children, for mothers, for the handicapped, for maternity care and for other aspects of dependency and illness where a beginning can now be made.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

The Purpose of Workmen's Compensation. The workmen's compensation, or employers' liability acts, as they are sometimes known, are enacted to overcome the losses and injuries arising from industrial accidents. Modern industry is so speeded and organized that many accidents result. The National Safety Council estimated that in 1930 there were 19,000 fatal industrial accidents in the United States. The industrial accident rate in the United States is reputed to be almost twice as high, in proportion to our population, as the rate for either Japan or France and more than twice as high as that of Great Britain.

It is clear that a man injured in industry not only loses the cost of the medical service which he buys but also the wages for the time that he is absent from his employment. Furthermore, there are occasions when workers receive permanent injuries which remain with them throughout their lives, thereby rendering them less efficient in doing their work and less in demand as workers. In the case of death arising from an industrial accident the worker's family suffers from being deprived of loss of income.

In order to overcome such situations organized governments, beginning in Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth century, began to enact legislation which would protect the worker financially in case of industrial accidents. As early as 1871 Germany

passed legislation making employers more directly responsible for the injuries to their workers, and England made its beginning in 1880. Other European countries followed soon thereafter. Compensation laws did not come into existence in the United States until the present century was well advanced. Between 1910 and 1915 thirty of our states enacted such legislation. By 1933 only four states¹ were without compensation legislation.

Benefits From the Acts. The laws specify maximum benefits which are to be paid to the injured workers. Sometimes a minimum allowance is also designated in the law. Maximum weekly benefits in the different states range from \$14 to \$25. Usually the weekly allowance is not more than half of the regular weekly wage. There is a period of waiting, usually of one week, which must elapse between the time of the accident and the time that the worker is entitled to benefits. Benefits from permanent disability range usually from \$4,000 to \$6,000, and payment is always made in the event of death caused by an industrial accident.

Advantages From Compensation. In the case of an accident, before compensation acts were passed, it was necessary for the worker to bring suit in court in order to recover damages for his injuries. This was done at common law under the old doctrine of the relationship of master to servant. The difficulty with this was the ease with which the employer could prove that the worker was negligent about the machinery and thereby contributed to the accident. If it could be shown that the worker was negligent the employer was not liable for any damages. We can summarize the advantages of compensation legislation over the law which preceded it. They are:

(1) The operation of the compensation laws no longer makes it necessary for the injured persons to bring suit in court to recover damages for accidents. It makes injury certain of compensation.

(2) This saves the worker the expense of the litigation and also saves him from the uncertainty of losing or winning his case in court.

(3) It guarantees the worker some income during the period of his incapacity.

(4) Industrial accidents are borne by the industry as a part of the cost of production and not by the worker and his family.

(5) There has been a decrease in industrial accidents arising

¹ These states were Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

from the installation of safety devices in mills and factories. This is contrary to the contention made before the compensation legislation was passed—that compensation legislation would encourage carelessness, thus resulting in an increase in the number of accidents.

Deficiencies of the System. While the system of compensation insurance is a decided advantage over no system of its kind, nevertheless there are certain deficiencies which should be overcome in order to make the system more effective. These deficiencies are

(1) Compensation does not apply to all occupations and vocations. In practically all of the states agricultural workers do not come within the provisions of the act. Other exceptions are made in other states so that all workers are not covered by insurance.

(2) Too many states do not make the act apply to employers who have only a few workers. In some states a fixed number of workers must be employed in an industry before benefits are guaranteed.

(3) There is uncertainty as to whether the victims of occupational diseases are entitled to compensation.

(4) Benefits are obviously too small and a serious financial burden falls upon the person who is injured and his family.

Operation of the Compensation Acts. The compensation acts merely specify that the employer shall insure his workers against industrial injury. The employer may choose not to insure, but in that event he becomes liable, under the terms of the compensation laws, for paying for the injuries according to the rate which the act designates. The operation of the act is usually under the general direction of an industrial commission in each of the states. Some of the states have given the employers the choice of insuring their workers in a private company or of making their premium deposits with the state. The general administration of the compensation legislation is handled differently in different states—in some by a special commission, in others by the department of labor and industry.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

Need for Unemployment Insurance. The financial depression, from which the American people have suffered since 1929, has amply demonstrated the need for some orderly and planned way of

relieving unemployment The extent of unemployment is reflected in the number of families receiving relief This number ranged from 4,560,000 in March, 1933, to 2,998,000 in September, 1933, and from 3,359,000 in November, 1933, to 2,485,000 in January, 1934, and 3,830,000 in September, 1934 No additional figures are needed to prove that some orderly way of preventing unemployment should be devised The National Industrial Recovery Act, passed in 1933, was one attempt to spread employment among the largest number of people by means of raising wages and by way of limiting hours of employment If such a program of increasing wages and of cutting hours could be carried far enough, it is likely that adequate control could be exercised over unemployment conditions But there is a serious question as to whether the federal government can make the N R A or any similar plan work It would work quite readily if enough employers of labor co-operated in the enforcement of the codes and if the codes were sufficiently strict Long term public works, to be discussed later in this chapter, would provide another instrument for reducing the amount of unemployment One thing has become quite clear as a result of the depression, and that is that citizens and their families cannot live adequately on the allowances of a few dollars a week which are given them from the relief funds For January, 1934, the average monthly benefit per family on relief in the United States was \$16.77 These allowances ranged from \$4.95 in Oklahoma to \$32.16 in New York, thus demonstrating that the charity allowances do not provide decent subsistence Charity has proved itself inadequate for the person receiving it and staggering to the sources, whether private or public, from which it comes It therefore becomes necessary for government to assume responsibility, not in further dispensing charity, but in devising ways by which unemployment can be dealt with humanely

However, with all of the remedies which might be provided, it is certain that an industrialized society will always have some unemployed people Unemployment is certain to exist because of seasonal conditions in such industries as coal mining, box making, clothing manufacturing, and many other enterprises Experience has shown, however, that industries, by one means or another, can do much to regularize employment throughout the year Not only does unemployment arise from seasonal conditions, but it develops

also because of technological conditions which arise from a constantly expanding use of machinery for doing jobs which were formerly done by hand or by more simple machine processes. Labor saving machinery, of which we have heard so much during recent decades, produces unemployment. It becomes necessary for government, by way of supplementing other ways of controlling unemployment, to set up a system of unemployment insurance.

Unemployment Insurance in Operation. While many persons feel that a scheme of unemployment insurance could not be made to work, nevertheless these insurance plans have been in operation in European countries for years. Great Britain passed the first unemployment insurance act in 1911, and it has been in constant operation since then. The British system is probably the most far-reaching of any in the world. At first the act was limited to a few selected trades, but by 1932 almost thirteen million workers were insured under the plan, including all wage earners with the exception of those employed in domestic service and in agriculture. Germany, Italy, Poland, Russia, and many smaller countries have compulsory unemployment insurance. In England during 1934 a man out of work might claim weekly \$4.25 for himself and \$2.25 in addition for his wife.

The depression in many parts of Europe has made it difficult and sometimes impossible for the insurance funds to meet all demands made upon them by the large number of unemployed persons. However, in 1931, Great Britain, with 12,500,000 insured workers had 2,629,000 receiving regular benefits. In Germany where 4,409,000 unemployed were registered in 1931 benefits were regularly paid to 1,752,000 persons. Because the system in Europe has not been capable of meeting the extreme emergency of the past few years is not a good argument against the need for some kind of orderly and planned relief for unemployment.

Unemployment Insurance in the United States. In our country quite a number of states have created commissions to study the problems of unemployment and to work out a scheme whereby relief might be secured through insurance or through reserves accumulated from contributions made by workers and employers. Wisconsin passed the first unemployment insurance bill in 1932. This act exempted all employers who guaranteed their workers forty-two weeks of work each year with employment of thirty-six

hours a week. The report of the Ohio Commission on Unemployment Insurance has received the most favorable consideration of any of the plans. It recommends a system whereby employers would pay 2 per cent of their payrolls while employees would pay 1 per cent of their wages. There would be a waiting period of three weeks before the benefits of 50 per cent of the average weekly wage would be paid. The benefits would not exceed \$15 a week and payment would cover not more than sixteen weeks in any twelve months. The Commission reports that if this plan had been adopted in 1923 the accumulated fund by 1929, when the depression started, would have totaled \$104,000,000. The Commission estimates that this fund would have lasted through at least three years of the depression. The distribution of such a vast sum of money in one state would have maintained purchasing power among the people and would have done much to lessen the effects of the depression in that state. Congress, in 1935, in enacting the social security legislation based on the recommendations of President Roosevelt, made provision for unemployment insurance by placing a 3 per cent tax on the payrolls of all employers with eight or more workers.

PROTECTION TO HEALTH

Health Insurance. While we have had reports from several commissions in the United States appointed to investigate the problem of health insurance, we have not had any legislation on the problem. This is contrary to the condition in Europe where plans of health insurance have been in operation for many years. The first health insurance act was passed in Germany in 1883 and the scheme, in one form or another, has been developed in some manner in practically every European country. In Germany all employed persons, with the exception of those with high incomes, pay regularly into the sickness-insurance fund. There have been more than 20,000,000 persons, out of some 60,000,000 in the country's population, included under the provisions of the act. The fund for financing the plan is usually raised by having the employers pay one-third and the employees two-thirds. The state does not pay anything. Under the German system a weekly sum, usually about one-half of the worker's wage, is paid while he is sick for a period usually not extending over twenty-six weeks in any one year. The British sys-

tem includes all workers earning not more than \$1,250 annually, including about a third of the population. The state pays a small part of maintaining the fund, about one-seventh of the total, while the employers and employees share the balance of the cost.

There are two phases to a program of health insurance. One provides for payments to the individual for loss of wages during the period of illness. This is the method which is employed in the establishment of almost all of the plans for health insurance. Rates for this could be established under the direction of the government which would be much lower than the rates now charged by private insurance companies. Fraternal societies having insurance features, together with privately owned insurance companies, have consistently opposed the passage of any health insurance legislation.

Group Medicine. A second phase of relief consists of providing free or inexpensive medical service and sometimes dental service to all persons who care to take advantage of it. The publicly supported medical clinics would provide certain types of service to anyone who wanted it. Such a scheme would not be strangely different from the plan of public education which we now enjoy. It is the type of service which is becoming increasingly common in Europe. If the public clinic were not available for all medical services it could provide routine service at low cost or free of charge. Such service might consist of routine examinations and office visits together with vaccinations against small pox and immunization against such diseases as diphtheria, scarlet fever, and typhoid.

The Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, consisting of forty-eight doctors and laymen, thoroughly investigated the cost of medical care in the United States. Their report, made in 1930, clearly shows that doctors and nurses are not employed as much as they should be because of the large fees which they are obliged to charge. This results in uncertain income for the professional people and an inadequate service to the patients. The Committee was of the opinion that more group responsibility should be assumed in providing health facilities if the American people are to have the advantages of the medical techniques which are now known. However, it should be noted that group medicine can be practiced without the state assuming responsibility for its operation.¹

¹See *The Survey* for December 1, 1934.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Beginnings of the Plan Another form of social insurance which has received much attention during recent years is the system of old age pensions. From 1914 to 1933 old age pension laws of one form or another were passed by twenty-five states. By 1932 approximately 100,000 people were receiving old age pensions, but half of these were in New York. That year New York, on a fifty-fifty basis between state and counties, spent more than \$15,000,000 on old age pensions. The payments averaged \$23.80 per month and cost the inhabitants of the state only \$1.23 per person per year for this important and humane service. The age limit for receiving an old age pension is usually sixty-five or seventy, and a period of residence in the state is required before a pension is granted. In 1935 as a part of the Roosevelt social security program Congress enacted a law granting a maximum of \$15 a month as a federal grant-in-aid to any state which would enact or had enacted old age pension legislation affecting citizens more than sixty-five years of age, provided that the state appropriated a sufficient sum to pay an additional \$15 per month. The money for the operation of the system was to be secured from a 3 per cent tax on payrolls, paid by employers and employees.

The Need for Old Age Pensions. Anyone who examines the facts realizes that pensions for aged persons, especially in a highly mechanized society where young and active workers are in demand, are necessary. Medical science, through the perfection of its techniques of healing and of prevention, is prolonging the average life of our citizens. For example, we find that in 1870 only 3 per cent of the people were over sixty-five years of age. By 1930 this percentage had risen to 5.4 per cent and it is estimated that by 1975 the persons who are more than sixty-five years old will constitute 13 per cent of the population. Furthermore, now that medical science is prolonging the lives of people, we find that mechanized industry does not want to employ older persons. Organized society is confronted with the problem of what is to be done with its old people. For example, in 1890 there were 26 per cent of the people beyond sixty-five years of age who were not working. By 1910 this percentage had risen to 37 and by 1930 to 42. These facts seem

to indicate the need for governmental action to provide old age security to the rapidly increasing number of citizens whom industry will not continue to employ



Courtesy Richmond Times Dispatch

THE HAZARDS AND VICISSITUDES OF LIFE

Advantages of Old Age Pensions. These pensions, designed to relieve the people who would in the absence of such a system be obliged to live at an almshouse, have a number of advantages. Some of these are

(1) The cost per person of old age pensions is much less than that of maintaining these people in almshouses. The average cost in the United States for maintaining the almshouse population was

\$38 57 per month per inmate The cost of \$23 80 per month for maintaining the old age pension system in New York is considerably less than the almshouse cost

(2) Residence in an almshouse has always carried with it a stigma It is a sign of extreme lack of financial success and people go there only as a last resort Payments of old age pensions are more humane in that the aged person can maintain a residence outside the almshouse

(3) The care which inmates receive in almshouses often is not good The buildings usually are old, food is often poor, and the general atmosphere is not attractive

(4) The almshouse is usually located in the country, removed from the friends and acquaintances of the inmates The number of inmates in these county institutions is usually small, so that life does not provide much variety, and residence in them does not provide many associates

RELIEF TO WIDOWS

Operation of the Plan. Organized government has assumed some responsibility in relief to widows who have children to support and who have no other means of subsistence Illinois, in 1911, was the first state to pass legislation allowing the county governments to spend some of their revenues for this purpose By 1933 all states except Georgia and South Carolina had enacted some type of legislation providing for assistance to widows In fourteen states the state and local governments share the expense of operating the system, usually on a fifty-fifty basis In the others the state alone, and more frequently the county alone, assumes the burden It is estimated that in 1931 approximately 1600 counties, or slightly more than one-half of the counties of the United States, were operating some system of assistance to widows and their children

Provisions in these laws usually specify that children are not to be supported from public funds beyond the age of sixteen years The maximum monthly allowance ranges for the first child from \$10 to \$45, and usually there are additional allowances for additional children, with no allowance in any state exceeding \$60 a month Grace Abbott,¹ formerly the chief of the United States

¹ *The Survey*, 70 80, March 15, 1934.

Children's Bureau, is the authority for stating that some 300,000 dependent children are being supported by mothers' pensions or mothers' assistance funds and that this large number by no means constitutes all of the children in the country who should be receiving aid from such sources.

The Advantages. There are some decided advantages in operating the system of widows' pensions. Ordinarily we think that the cost of maintaining a child in an orphan asylum would be less than that of keeping him in the family circle. However, orphan asylum costs are known to run from \$400 to \$1400 a year per child. This is much in excess of the cost of maintaining a child in most families. Furthermore, all authorities are agreed that family life is much to be preferred for children to life in an orphan asylum. Everything is to be said in favor of keeping families intact, thereby giving children the advantages of association with brothers, sisters, and mother or father, together with the advantages which develop from normal association with people in the community. The only disadvantage of the operation of the widows' pension is the insufficient amount of money which is appropriated for this purpose. Larger appropriations should be made so that many children and their mothers, now living in want, might be provided with the food, clothing, and shelter so essential to attractive family life.

OTHER FORMS OF SOCIAL SECURITY

Protection of Women and Children. Out of every 1000 women sixteen years of age and over there were in 1930, 253 who were employed for pay. While more than 3,000,000 women were in domestic and personal service, nearly 2,000,000 were working in industry, and nearly 2,000,000 more were in clerical work. The employment of women has produced a demand for legislation to protect them in the nature of their work, in the number of hours employed, and in the wages paid to them. In 1908 the Oregon law which limited the working day of women to ten hours was sustained by the United States Supreme Court. Since that time many statutes have been passed to limit the number of hours which a woman may work when employed in industry. By 1930 forty-four states had laws limiting the length of the working day, sixteen

states prohibited night work, and eighteen required one day of rest in seven.

Children have been the beneficiaries of special legislation along several lines. Special courts, known as juvenile courts, for handling the cases of the behavior of children, have been set up in the various states since 1899, when the first court of this kind was created in Illinois. In addition, much legislation has been passed to protect child workers. The states prohibit the employment of children in industry, usually under the age of fourteen, although some states set a higher age limit. The child labor legislation has been reinforced in thirty-eight states by further legislation which requires compulsory school attendance, requiring the completion of a prescribed number of grades in school. The federal Congress passed legislation on two occasions, in 1916 and again in 1919, to control the employment of children. Both acts were declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. Following this action Congress submitted to the states an amendment to the United States Constitution which would give authority to Congress "to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." By the early part of 1935 this amendment had been ratified by twenty-four states.

The Minimum Wage. Doubtless one of the soundest forms of social legislation and one of the least accepted forms in the United States is the minimum wage. Generally the state legislatures have been reluctant or unwilling to pass minimum wage legislation. Massachusetts was the first of the states to pass such a law, but the provision for its minimum legal wage is so low that it is of little help in raising the wage level of its citizens. Congress once passed a minimum wage bill covering the employment of women in the District of Columbia. The bill was held to be unconstitutional on the grounds that it violated the citizen's right to contract and sell his labor.

The biggest steps in the direction of a minimum wage were taken under the N. R. A. codes. These codes provided a minimum wage for workers and also a maximum number of hours per week. In many cases the wages fixed by the codes were one to two dollars a week higher than the wages paid in the industry before the code was drafted. These minimum wage provisions were nullified by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court. The soundness of any

minimum wage plan lies in the fact that the larger the citizen's wage the larger his purchasing power will be and the greater will be his ability to purchase and consume goods

Pensions for the Blind. Organized government, through the state or the county, has made provision for pensions to the blind. In 1933 there were twenty-three states that had adopted pension laws for the blind. There were more than 15,000 blind persons receiving pensions in seventeen states. The expenditures for that year in twenty states amounted to more than \$3,000,000. However, the states do not meet their obligations to the blind with any degree of equality. Ohio, in a given year, extended pensions to more than 5,000 persons, while New Jersey gave relief to fewer than 300. The maximum amount of relief granted to one person varies in the different states from \$150 to \$600 a year. Grants are not made to all blind persons since there are qualifications of residence, citizenship, and lack of income before the blind person is considered for a pension.

Retirement of Public Servants. One of the most excellent forms of social legislation is that which provides for retiring public servants on part salary. Federal employees, chiefly in the post-office department, are placed on the retired list usually at the age of sixty-five, provided that they have had thirty years of service. Under these conditions the public servant would receive the maximum allowance but is allowed a smaller allowance, in the event of incapacity, even after fifteen years of service. Officers and enlisted men of the army and the navy are also entitled to favorable retirement allowances. In our large cities members of the police department and of the fire department are employed subject to retirement allowances.

Public school teachers, in large cities and frequently under state jurisdiction, are the beneficiaries of retirement legislation. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania doubtless have the most advanced legislation of this kind. These retirement plans usually provide for contributions from the teachers in conjunction with appropriations made by the states and by the local school districts. Benefits are paid after the time of retirement, the age of which is frequently sixty or sixty-two years as a minimum and seventy years as a maximum. Benefits at the time of retirement are based upon the length of service and also upon the average salary earned. Thus,

in one system, the teacher who retires at the end of forty years of service and whose average salary for the ten years preceding retirement was \$1,500 would receive 40/80 or one-half of \$1,500 or \$750 annually, paid in monthly installments from the state retirement fund, to which the teacher, of course, had made regular contributions

In June, 1934, Congress passed an act affecting railroad workers. This act, among other things, provided that the railroad companies should set up retirement plans, after the manner suggested in the bill, to which contributions were to be made by the companies and by the workers respectively on a two-thirds and a one-third basis. Congress assumed this jurisdiction, no doubt, on the theory that it had authority to regulate interstate commerce and also, no doubt, on the grounds that it could regulate an industry to which large sums of money have been lent through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (R F C). Nearly a year after its passage the United States Supreme Court, by a five to four decision, held the act unconstitutional on the ground that it discriminated against one group of employees

Public Employment Exchanges. One of the most important parts of a program of social legislation consists of the employment exchanges operated at public expense. As is the case with all other forms of social legislation, we have not done as much in the United States to develop employment exchanges as the European governments have done. At the present time the federal government, in conjunction with the states, is operating a large number of employment offices throughout the country. This type of legislation, when intelligently administered, does much to keep labor in touch with jobs and consequently reduces unemployment.

There are several reasons why the private employment agency is less desirable than the publicly maintained agency.

(1) As will be shown later, the private agency, which charges the worker a fee for the placement, is more costly to the worker than the public agency.

(2) The work of one private agency is not co-ordinated with that of others, so that each works aimlessly in its efforts to place workers in its local area without any regard to the demand for workers in other parts of the country.

(3) The pressure on the private agency to make profits often

induces the manager to engage in unethical and unfair practices in order to place people in jobs

Our experience in the United States with public employment offices during the period of the World War is proof that they are not only necessary but can be operated successfully. From January, 1918, to June, 1919, the federal employment offices placed 5,000,000 persons in jobs at a cost of \$1.34 per placement. The low cost is a decided argument in favor of publicly maintained offices when we consider that privately managed offices usually charge a fee of \$5 and often \$10 for placing a worker in a job. Some states and some cities have developed excellent employment offices. New York has an especially fine system. The cities¹ of Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and Rochester have developed excellent employment services. They have done more than merely attempt to place people in jobs by chance, because they have developed facilities for classifying workers and also have done much to detect special skills for certain jobs. Their systems are not only successful in placing people but are humane in that they place people in jobs for which they are fitted.

The low cost of placing workers is not the only advantage which can be claimed for the public offices. If organized on a national scale they would do much to reduce the amount of cross hauling of workers from one city to another. This would make for general efficiency and would doubtless contribute to developing a more satisfied working class. Furthermore, the employment exchange, if properly managed, constitutes one of the necessary devices to be used in reducing the amount of unemployment.

Public Works. For a long time people have talked of the possibility of using a public works program to overcome unemployment. A public works program is based on the idea that when business is good and people are working, the government should not be anxious to extend the building program of roads, bridges, dams, river and harbor improvements, schools, hospitals, reforestation, and other publicly supported projects. The theory is that during favorable economic periods, when taxes are easily collected, the government should be setting aside reserves to be used when a period of unemployment comes upon us.

The Recovery Program under the Roosevelt leadership included

¹See *The Survey* for February 1, 1933

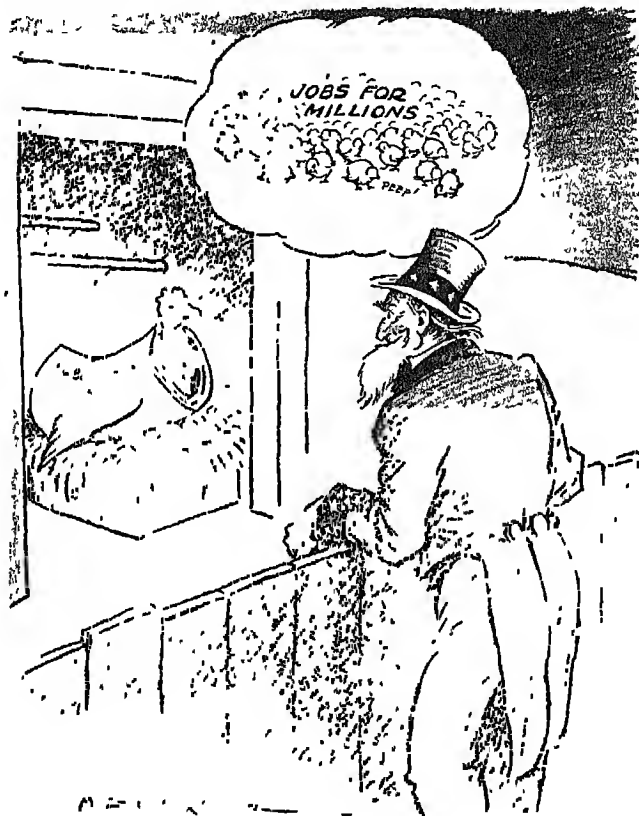
an appropriation of \$3,300,000,000 for the Public Works Administration. Of this sum \$400,000,000 was given to the states for highways. A quarter of a billion was allotted for naval construction. A sum of \$150,000,000 was reserved for financing housing projects. The larger portion of this appropriation, of which Harold L. Ickes was the administrator, was given to local units of government on condition that they were able to develop projects of construction which would improve their communities and also pledge themselves for the repayment to the United States government of 70 per cent of the money extended to them at a low rate of interest. The remaining 30 per cent constituted a gift from the federal government to the local unit. The Public Works Administration may prove to have been a beginning of much planning by governments—federal, state, county, and city—to the end that governments may find one way to relieve unemployment. In his message to Congress in January, 1935, President Roosevelt said on this question of public works:

This work will cover a wide field including clearance of slums, which for adequate reasons cannot be undertaken by private capital; in rural housing of several kinds, where, again, private capital is unable to function, in rural electrification, in the reforestation of the great watersheds of the nation, in an intensified program to prevent soil erosion and to reclaim blighted areas, in improving existing road systems and in constructing national highways designed to handle modern traffic, in the elimination of grade crossings, in the extension and enlargement of the successful work of the Civilian Conservation Corps, in nonfederal works, mostly self-liquidating and highly useful to local divisions of government, and on many others which the nation needs and cannot afford to neglect.

Following this recommendation of the President, Congress enacted legislation providing for the appropriation of \$4,880,000,000 for carrying out an extensive public works program. Allotments of this appropriation were made to such purposes as the President enumerated above.

Housing. There are some citizens who claim that one of the most effective methods of assuring health and happiness for workers is to be found in providing inexpensive, sanitary, and attractive housing. For the purpose of securing these ends state and county governments have granted tax exemptions to housing corporations that provide modern housing under conditions of making a limited in-

come on their investments. The federal government, under the P. W. A., provided \$150,000,000 to be used for demonstrating the workability in various cities of a program of modern housing. The H. O. L. C. extended loans at favorable interest rates to home owners who were threatened with mortgage foreclosures. The



AWAITING THE HATCH

F. H. A. extended credit, not to exceed \$2,000, to home owners who were desirous of repairing or modernizing their homes. The Division of Subsistence Homesteads provided for the establishment of homes on small farms where the occupant and ultimate owner of the tract would be able to supplement his cash income with the food which he could produce. The rural rehabilitation

work of the federal government has been organized to protect capable and reliable farmers from losing their farm homes and their farm equipment. The Resettlement work of the United States government aims to relocate people on small tracts of land where they can grow food, and also near to a place of employment where they can secure some cash income.

Influence of Social Workers. The social workers of our country have had a decided influence upon securing legislation for the protection of workers. In fact, the social workers are usually willing to lobby for almost any type of legislation which they think will be beneficial to workers and their families. It was the social workers of Chicago—Jane Addams, Hastings H. Hart, Julia Lathrop, Graham Taylor, and others—who convinced the Illinois legislature in 1899 of the importance of enacting the first juvenile court law of the United States. Some of these same people busied themselves to secure the enactment of the first widows' pension law in 1911. The social workers of New York, headed by Lillian Wald, were responsible for laying the plans which produced the creation by Congress of the Federal Children's Bureau, now operating as a part of the Department of Labor. These same New York social workers exerted a great amount of influence on the public schools by having introduced the services of school nurses, physicians, and dentists. Florence Kelley spent almost all of her life carrying on a crusade, through the National Consumers' League, against child labor in industry. The social workers, through the leadership of Grace Abbott of the Federal Children's Bureau, promoted the passage of the Sheppard-Towner act which, from 1922 to 1929, provided federal funds for establishing medical and nursing service to infants and mothers in isolated sections of the country.

Social workers can always be relied upon to endorse legislation providing for unemployment insurance, old age pensions, the humane treatment of children, and every other piece of legislation the operation of which might promote human comfort and develop human happiness.

The New Social Order. The new social order will emerge in our country not by way of having citizens accept this set of ideas or that *ism* but only by way of legislating for the greatest good to the greatest number. Social legislation is one way by which the greatest good can be achieved. Social legislation may include bene-

fits beyond those which are suggested in this chapter. It should include all proposals the enactment of which would result in a healthier and a happier citizenry. The government financing of housing, public facilities for recreation, the protection of the consumer from fraud and from shoddy goods, increased family income and freedom from child labor, group responsibility for medical care, the expansion and the enrichment of the school system, the encouragement of education for adults, the encouragement of the arts in museums, orchestras, and libraries—these and many other enterprises are essential to the development of good citizens and for the orderly functioning of a democratic society.

Each of these schemes, if put into effect, will cost money. That will mean that new sources of revenue must be supplied in order to finance the details of an enlarged democracy. That raises the question of taxation (see Chapter 8), but whatever the schemes of taxation are, it becomes necessary for organized society, represented in the government, to assume more responsibility for more people than it has been accustomed to do in an era of rugged individualism. This assumption of responsibility is all the more important when we realize that the welfare of all persons is involved in the welfare and happiness of each individual.

Social and Economic Planning. In order to accomplish these things it will be necessary for people to learn the difficult art of planning—in industry as well as in political and social life. To achieve a planned and controlled society it will become necessary for organized government to assume more and more responsibility for working out problems of common welfare. The problems of planning, in a limited way, are illustrated by the efforts of the Recovery Program of the Roosevelt era with its N. R. A., P. W. A., A. A. A., and T. V. A., each of these constituting an attempt in planning.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. What recent industrial changes have made greater social protection necessary for the citizens?
2. What is meant by social legislation?
3. What was President Roosevelt's program for economic security?

4. Why is it necessary to have provisions for workmen's compensation? Summarize the advantages and deficiencies of compensation legislation
5. How do the compensation acts operate?
6. What has the depression taught us about the need for unemployment insurance?
7. How has unemployment insurance operated in Europe?
8. What is the value of health insurance legislation and of group medicine? How have systems of government health insurance and group medicine operated in Europe?
9. What were the recommendations of the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care? Upon what were they based?
10. Explain what the various governments have done for the relief of widows and orphans
11. What further step is needed to improve the care now given widows and orphans?
12. What legislation has been passed to protect women and children in industry? Why is such legislation necessary?
13. What do you believe to be the advantage of a minimum wage? Are there any disadvantages? What has been done to secure minimum wages in the United States?
14. What have the states done to secure old age pensions? What state has led the way in this form of social legislation?
15. What advantages do old age pensions have over providing for old people in almshouses? What is the need for more old age pension legislation?
16. What is the present status of pensions for the blind? What should be done along this line?
17. What has been done by the government for the purpose of providing retirement pensions for public servants? What is the significance of the act passed by Congress for pensioning railroad workers?
18. Compare and contrast the value of private employment agencies with public ones
19. What possibility is suggested for relieving unemployment through a planned scheme of public works projects? Explain how this would operate
20. What has been the value and influence of social workers in relieving social distress through government legislation?
21. Why is social and economic planning an essential feature in an improved democratic order?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What groups of citizens might favor the enactment of legislation for unemployment insurance?
2. What reasons could you give for and against a system of having

the government employ doctors and nurses in a manner somewhat similar to the employment of teachers?

- 3 In what ways, if any, are widows' pensions to be preferred to residence for children in an orphan asylum?
- 4 Explain how the T V A. constitutes a project in planning

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Report on the status of workmen's compensation legislation in your state
- 2 What improvements might be made in your community under a program of public works? What improvements have been made recently under the Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration?
- 3 Report on the protective legislation for women and children in effect in your state. What further legislation would be desirable?
- 4 Question for panel discussion. Should legislation be enacted for the purpose of substituting old age pensions for the county almshouses in our state?

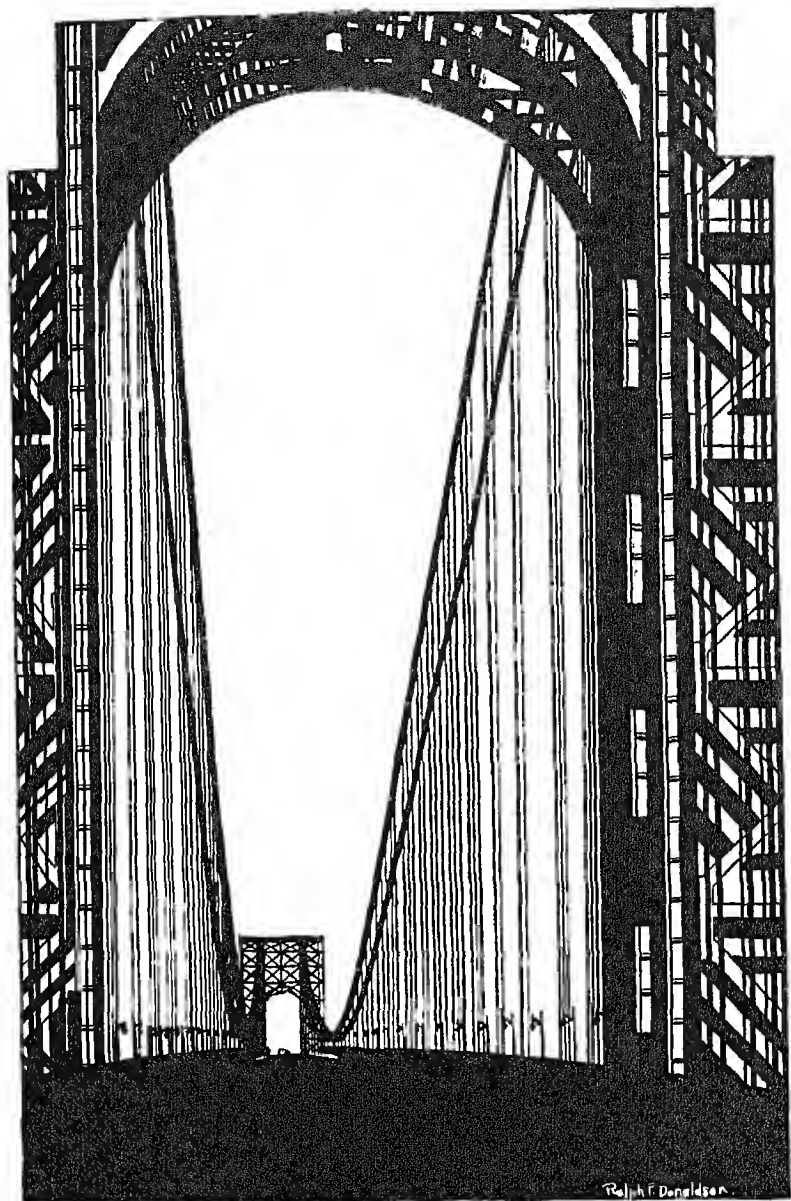
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PART IV

THE CITIZEN DEMANDS
GOVERNMENTAL SERVICES

Not only are governments relied upon to provide protection (Part III) but they are being called upon constantly to provide new services. In colonial days government was an exceedingly simple mechanism. There were few schools, poor roads, no parks and playgrounds, no departments of public health. As our ways of living have become more mechanized and our population has become more urbanized, we find it necessary to call upon government to do more things. It carries our mail and our parcels, it provides a place to deposit savings, it regulates the railroad fares and the safety devices on these forms of transportation, it builds our subways and our highways, it inspects our meat, it provides us with schools, libraries, playgrounds, garbage collection, sewage disposal, a water supply, and innumerable other things. When we want a service performed we invariably find that persons alone or groups of them in the community eventually look to the government for assistance in getting things done. Some persons insist that the government should provide the citizen with inexpensive and modern housing. Others contend that it is the duty of government to provide electric service and there are hundreds of cities which have publicly owned electric plants. Invariably the municipal government provides the residents with a water supply. Then too there are those who would have the government expand its facilities for promoting the health of the citizens. These are some of the many services which government might and often does supply.

In Part IV we shall deal with only three services which citizens everywhere demand. The citizens want education at public expense and one chapter will be given to the expansion of the publicly supported educational services. The citizens want play facilities and they call upon the government to set these up. Organized business has often requested the government to give it assistance, so we shall consider, in another chapter, the ways in which business is aided by government.



Chapter 13 EDUCATION

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To discuss the importance of public education in a democracy.
- 2 To survey the organization of the public school system
- 3 To explain how the American school system is supported
- 4 To consider some of the problems facing public education

IN MODERN times the citizens in all countries look to their governments to provide education. How far education should extend is sometimes a question for controversy. Some citizens insist that there should be a system of free education from the kindergarten through the university. Others maintain that the public educational service would be sufficient if it ended with the high school. However, it is important to realize that educational facilities have been expanding, chiefly during recent decades, to the extent that they now constitute the most extensive single enterprise in buildings, personnel, and expenditures that we have in the United States.

Extent of Public Education. Education has expanded over a period of years to the extent that at the present time we have over 23,500,000 pupils in the public elementary schools of the country and about 4,500,000 in the high schools. This does not include the 2,500,000 children who are enrolled in private schools. The

total cost of maintaining pupils in public schools is \$2,250,000,000 a year. Nearly 1,000,000 teachers are required to direct the work of the schools.

Education in a Democracy. In aristocracies and in monarchies education was provided chiefly for the members of the upper class by means of private agencies. Few schools were provided for the lower classes. Democratic governments, realizing that it is only through an educated citizenry that they can endure, have provided extensive systems of public education. Kindergartens, elementary schools, junior high schools, high schools, vocational schools, junior colleges, teachers' colleges, and universities are among the many forms of schools which have been established and expanded at public expense.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Beginnings of Public Education. America has not always had a system of free schools. The school system of the present day is the result of three centuries of development, with almost all of the expansion having come within the past century. Education in the colonies was privately administered, chiefly in the homes where instruction was given by parents or tutors. Schools were organized for the purpose of providing instruction in religious and moral qualities and in reading the Bible. Education acts were passed in Massachusetts in 1642 and 1647. The first act provided that parents and masters must train the children in learning, labor, religion, and the laws of the country. The second one made it permissive for the smaller towns to provide schools for younger children, and for the larger towns to establish grammar schools for the preparation of pupils for college. (Harvard had been established in 1636.) The schools in the other colonies were generally administered either by various churches or by charitable organizations.

The demand for free public education had not become pronounced by 1800. The federal Constitution does not mention education nor did many of the constitutions of the original thirteen states. However, it was early recognized that a government dependent upon an intelligent citizenry could not rely upon charitable, religious, and other private organizations for the education of its citizens. Labor and humanitarian leaders were particularly loud in their demands

that the states provide free, public, compulsory education for all children. (See quotation from John Adams in Chapter 1)

Horace Mann in Massachusetts, and Henry Barnard in Connecticut were important leaders in interpreting and publicizing the needs for strong systems of public education. Horace Mann freed the schools of Massachusetts from sectarian control and made them agents of the state. Henry Barnard showed the value of education as a means of preserving democratic government. Both worked for free, public, non-sectarian schools that would meet the needs of children and society as a whole rather than the requirements of special classes or sects.

Each of the new states admitted to the Union provided for free education in its constitution, and by 1871 free, public education was provided in all states.¹

Elementary Schools. The first school to be maintained at public expense was the elementary school. It consists of the first seven or eight grades of school and deals generally with the fundamental skills of education such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with elementary science in the forms of health, nature study, and geography. Art, music, social studies, and crafts are also taught. The elementary school is the most vital part of our educational system. In it is enrolled the great majority of the school population. It furnishes training in co-operation and in developing the habits, skills, and appreciations upon which future growth depends.

¹Article IX of the Indiana state constitution suggests the scope of these constitutional provisions.

Section 1 Knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community being essential to the preservation of a free government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to this end, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law for the improvement of such lands as are, or hereafter may be, granted by the United States to this state for the use of schools, and to apply any funds which may be raised from such lands, or from any other quarter, to the accomplishment of the grand object for which they are or may be intended. . . The General Assembly shall, from time to time, pass such laws as shall be calculated to encourage intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement by allowing rewards and immunities for the improvement of arts, sciences, commerce, manufacturing, and natural history, and to countenance and encourage the principles of humanity, industry, and morality.

Section 2 It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all.

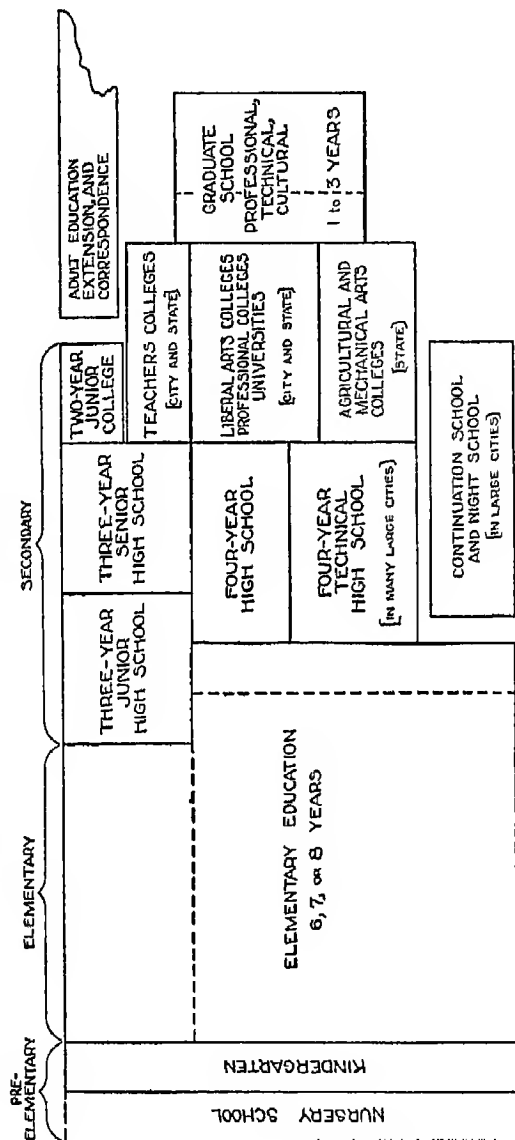
Citizens have demanded that education be extended both above and below the original elementary school. Many communities have provided kindergartens and nursery schools for younger children. In these schools particular attention is paid to the normal physical and mental development of the child. Unnatural physical handicaps are corrected and skilled teachers enable the children to learn how to play and work together in a far more healthful and stimulating environment than can be maintained by most homes. These children are usually in school only a part of the day. The teachers do a great deal in advising and helping parents to train the children.

The Junior High School. In recent years, the seventh and eighth grades of the elementary school and the first year of the high school have in many school systems been made into a separate organization known as the junior high school. The chief purpose of the junior high school is to provide means for exploration and guidance activities for pupils during early adolescence. The junior high school, is richer in courses and extra-curricular activities than was the old grammar-grade organization.

The High School. By the time of the Civil War it was generally recognized that the states should provide for elementary education through the eight grades. Many citizens were then demanding that high schools should also be provided at public expense. In 1872 the city of Kalamazoo, Michigan, voted to increase the taxes in order to provide a free, public high school for all of the children. Opponents of the measure maintained that this was illegal and carried the case to the state Supreme Court, where Judge Cooley declared that school districts had the legal right to provide for secondary education if they so desired. The high school soon became a recognized part of the state school system in all states.

High schools vary from small institutions in rural areas offering a few traditional courses to a handful of pupils to magnificent structures in the large cities where the thousands of pupils enrolled are enabled to study in practically any field. In 1930 the number of high school pupils was sixty-four times the number enrolled in 1870. From 1895 to 1924 high school enrollment increased 2,400 per cent. In spite of these phenomenal increases only 54 per cent of the people of high school age in the United States in 1930 were enrolled in school. However, high school enrollment increased from 3,400,000 pupils in 1930 to 4,400,000 in 1934.

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES



AGE 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

Administration of Public Schools. The public schools belong to the people. As a rule, the people elect boards of education (trustees in some states) who supervise the work of the schools. The actual management is vested in an expert educator known as a superintendent. The board considers the large policies that should regulate the running of the schools, and the successful execution of these policies is delegated to the superintendent who generally has charge of hiring teachers, determining the educational activities, and otherwise caring for the efficient management of the system. The superintendent in turn delegates authority to the *principals* of the various schools in the system under his supervision.

The teachers have the task of making education a vital part of the lives of boys and girls. It is becoming more and more recognized that all teachers should be college graduates with special training in educational procedure and in the particular work they are to handle. The teacher should also have a broad educational background, and be actively interested in community, national, and world affairs. Many cities and several states are now requiring that new high school teachers have a year's graduate work (master's degree) in addition to the four years of college required for the bachelor's degree, and many of the leading administrative positions are being filled by men who have three years of specialized training in education beyond the bachelor's degree. At the head of the state school system is the state superintendent of public instruction (state commissioner of education in some states). He usually leads the educational forces of the state and is generally one to whom friends of education look for guidance. He is usually elected by the people, chosen by a state board of education, or appointed by the Governor. All persons who have studied the question agree that appointment by a state board of education or by the Governor is preferable to election. In any case, his qualifications should be of the highest if educational leadership in the state is to be effective.

The Curriculum. The contents of the curriculum of the schools is determined by the nature of the school population and by the needs of the society of which the pupils are a part. Both the school population and the needs of society have been rapidly changing. Just after the Civil War the schools enrolled only a select few of the population. The interests of the pupils were practically the same, and the lower schools were mainly for the purpose of pre-

paring them to enter the colleges of the time. Today the schools enroll nearly all of the boys and girls of school age. Their interests and activities differ widely. The work of the schools is usually defined as being the training of pupils in democratic living and in aiding them to enter the specialized vocational life of society.

Modern schools offer work that enables pupils to discover their special interests and begin developing them. Certain fundamental courses, such as writing, reading, and arithmetic, fill vocational and social needs. The present tendency in education is to reduce the number of courses through unifying them rather than adding new ones as has been the policy in the past. For example, some schools are uniting all of the sciences and mathematics into a common study, and the courses of history, sociology, civics, economics, and geography into another. They place the language arts in a third field, and what has formerly been the vocational work into a fourth class called crafts. These schools continue to have separate elective courses but they are usually reduced in number and less specialized in nature.

This change and others are being suggested in order to harmonize the schools with present-day society. Schools tend to lag behind contemporary life. For example, certain courses have been taught merely because a knowledge of them was the mark of culture of a bygone aristocratic class. Although this class no longer exists, the courses still persist. Ross L. Finney¹ of the University of Minnesota explains this point of view when he says:

In school house talk, the word "culture" usually refers to the old-fashioned subjects, which carry a sort of traditional prestige. When used in this sense, the word should be written in quotation marks. "culture" "Conventional" would better express the meaning in mind. Parents sometimes want their children to wear an education as a sort of badge that will admit them to a more exclusive social set. The more exclusive the school to which such parents can send their children, the better they are suited. As for the subjects such pupils study, it is not a question of the utility of the subjects, if only the subjects are those that an educated person is supposed to know. Some subjects that are relatively of little use, such as Latin, French, geometry, and certain English classics, hold their place in the curriculum largely because they serve the wearers as badges of having been educated according to the conventionalities of select society. Of course, this aim is seldom frankly

¹ Reprinted from Finney's *Elementary Sociology*, pp. 228-29, by permission of Benjamin H. Sanborn and Co., publishers.

admitted. However, it should be frankly recognized as an unworthy aim in a democracy. Schools which cater to it should fall under suspicion of rendering a disservice to society.

In a democracy, true culture should be a resource of all the people. Real culture is any possession of the mind by which life can be enriched. The person who can put art and science into his everyday work, who knows how to beautify the common things that he uses, who has abundant resources for wholesome recreation, and especially who understands the signs of the times in which he lives, is the truly cultured person. And the education which gives that sort of culture to all the people is of very great social value indeed. Without real culture there is no real civilization. Democracy can never be a real success until education imparts culture to all the members of society. Cultural democracy is essential to the permanent success of political democracy. But intellectual snobbery is not culture.

Of course it must be understood that some pupils may legitimately study some of the courses mentioned. An engineer needs to know geometry; pharmacists, doctors, and lawyers need to know certain Latin terms and phrases, but to allow large numbers of pupils to think that these courses count heavily in the world of today is probably a mistake. There are many other subjects that will more truly enrich the mind and be more vital to life in today's society.

In training for the vocational needs of pupils, many communities have provided vocational high schools. These schools train pupils in drafting, mechanics, scientific agriculture, electricity, home economics, auto-mechanics, printing, and other forms of work necessary in a machine age. Large sums of money have been spent on buildings and equipment. Local citizens are proud of schools of this type and the training that is given their children.

The fact that about one-half of the pupils entering the freshman year of high school do not graduate furnishes an educational problem. Various causes are advanced for this condition. One of them is the failure of the schools to provide a sufficiently broad curriculum. The curriculum should be as broad as human interests and as varied as human activity.

HIGHER EDUCATION

State Colleges and Universities. Many citizens were not satisfied with a public education system that stopped with the high schools. They contended that public education should extend through

the universities. Several states claim the honor of having established the first state university.¹ By 1860 state universities had been established in eight southern states, one eastern state, six middle western states, and one far western state. The passage of the Morrill Bill during the period of the Civil War, providing for federal grants of land to state institutions of higher learning which would provide courses in military tactics, did much to encourage the founding of colleges to be operated at public expense.

From the point of view of a democratic society higher public education serves among others at least three distinct purposes: (1) the training for general intelligent participation in society, (2) the preparing of trained specialists in work vitally necessary to the well-being of a democracy, for example, medicine, teaching, and journalism, and (3) the conducting of surveys, research, and experiments that add to the well-being of the state as a whole. There are many types of state-supported schools and colleges. Among them are the state universities, the engineering and agricultural colleges, the schools of mines, the women's colleges, and the teachers' colleges or normal schools. In several states the universities and the agricultural and engineering schools are united in one institution. Practically all the states have one or more state teachers' colleges or normal schools.

Some of the smaller states maintain only one institution—the state university—which serves the purpose of the various state colleges of the more populous states. Wyoming and Nevada each have the teachers' college, school of mines, and other colleges on one campus organized within the state university.

The larger state universities have many different departments called schools or colleges, most of which offer bachelor's degrees, and higher degrees in their special fields of work.²

¹ Some of the early state universities and the dates given for their establishment are Georgia, 1785, North Carolina, 1789, Vermont, 1791, Tennessee, 1794, South Carolina, 1801, Maryland, 1807, Michigan, 1817, and Virginia, 1819.

² The divisions of the Ohio State University are as follows: (1) Graduate School, (2) College of Agriculture, (3) School of Home Economics, (4) College of Arts and Sciences, (5) College of Commerce and Administration, (6) School of Journalism, (7) School of Social Administration, (8) College of Dentistry, (9) College of Education, (10) College of Engineering, (11) College of Law, (12) College of Medicine, (13) School of Nursing, (14) College of Pharmacy, (15) College of Veterinary, (16) Summer Quarter.

Work is offered practically the year around in most of the state colleges and universities. The regular session usually lasts from the middle of September to early June. The summer session lasts for from six to twelve weeks. Many universities offer courses that may be taken by correspondence. Classes are also held by some universities in centers throughout the state. This is known as extension work.

In addition to work leading to the bachelor's degree given at the end of four years, the universities offer graduate work leading to the master of arts (M.A.) and the master of science (M.S.) degrees, conferred after one year's satisfactory work (minimum) beyond the bachelor's degree, and the doctor of philosophy (Ph.D.) degree given after three years' work (minimum) beyond the bachelor's degree. This work usually consists of advanced study in special fields and intensive work in some particular phase of the student's speciality.

Municipal Universities and Junior Colleges. The increased demand on the part of the people for more publicly supported colleges and universities is evidenced by the fact that many progressive cities are establishing junior and senior colleges in connection with the city school systems. There are over forty junior colleges in California alone. Perhaps the best known group of municipal universities is in Ohio where such cities as Akron, Cincinnati, and Toledo have well-established universities. The City College of New York and Wayne University of Detroit are other examples of municipal universities as are those in Wichita, Louisville, and Omaha.

Features of the municipal university are the emphasis on courses given in the afternoon and evening for students who work during the day, lecture courses, extension work in various parts of the city, and the university's close co-operation with the municipal government as a headquarters for research and technical advice. Most municipal universities offer graduate work leading to the advanced degrees in addition to the regular four-year courses leading to the bachelor's degree.

The junior colleges give work approximating that of the first two years in state universities. They are generally closely connected with the local high schools, and the vocational work offered usually answers distinct needs of the community.

School Accrediting Agencies As a means of assuring the maintenance of somewhat equal standards throughout the different states, accrediting agencies have been developed by groups of high schools and colleges. These agencies determine what common educational standards must be met by schools in the association. Thus the credits earned in one institution whose qualifications entitle it to membership are accepted by all other corresponding schools or colleges within the group as the equivalent of their own. These various accrediting agencies recognize members of other similar associations as being of equal standing with themselves. Thus a graduate of a southern high school that is a member of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is admitted to a college belonging to the North-Central Association as readily as one from a northern high school belonging to the North-Central Association. These associations insist that member schools maintain recognized standards of efficiency. Not only is it considered a disgrace for a college or high school to be dropped from the Association's list, but in addition, students of the expelled school suffer in educational opportunities because members of associations will not recognize the credits of expelled schools. These school associations are, perhaps, the most powerful agencies for maintaining educational equality of opportunity, and are the strongest weapon that schools have in combating interests that would weaken educational institutions.

Adult Education. A comparatively new educational movement that is due to receive greater emphasis is adult education. In a world that is changing rapidly, it is impossible for anyone to complete his education during the years of formal schooling. Increased knowledge in all fields demands that adults constantly keep abreast of the times. This is done in part through reading newspapers, magazines, and books dealing with current developments, by attending lecture courses, and by visiting museums and libraries.

Citizenship courses and work in English and other subjects aid immigrants and illiterates to become acquainted with the rudiments of our civilization and language. This work is usually given in what is known as Americanization schools. Some cities offer an extensive program of adult education, including a large variety of practical and recreational courses. The comparatively new "moonlight schools" in the southern mountains are acquainting the isolated citizens of that region with the world outside.

The federal government is taking increased interest in adult education. Practically all states have taken advantage of federal aid through the F E R A funds to provide schools for adult training. Many C C C camps maintain educational directors who supervise educational work in the camps. When John W. Studebaker, formerly superintendent of schools in Des Moines, became United States Commissioner of Education, he encouraged the development of open forums for the purpose of bringing adults together to discuss current problems. The open forums of Des Moines and Washington, D. C., each of which he organized, received national recognition and became models for the development of similar projects in other cities.

The field of adult education is in the stage of development. Most local school systems have done comparatively little other than offering a limited number of night classes. Supplementing public adult education is the work conducted by private organizations and by groups of citizens organizing classes for personal improvement. We may expect to see important developments in the field of adult education during the next few years.

PUBLIC SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

Schools derive their support from three governments. These are the local school district, the state, and sometimes the federal government. In most states the local school district has the heaviest responsibility. In a recent year 79.7 per cent of the funds for school support in the United States came from local sources, 19.9 per cent from state funds, and 4 per cent from federal agencies. For example, a certain school district in Illinois received \$190,000 in one year from district taxes, \$40,000 from state funds, and nothing from the federal government. Some schools annually receive limited aid from the federal government to assist in departments of home economics, industrial arts, and agriculture. The district mentioned above did not have courses in these departments that met the federal requirements.

The average annual expenditure per child in daily attendance for the United States was \$87 in a recent year. The expenditure varied from \$35 per child in one state to \$192 per child in the state spending the most. This variation is even greater when we consider the

amount spent per Negro child in some southern states Georgia spends on an average of \$35.42 per white child and \$6.38 per Negro child The figures for Mississippi are \$45.34 against \$5.45 The reason for the difference in expenditures between states is largely the result of a difference in wealth The wealthiest state has \$31,000 in wealth per child as against \$4,000 per child in the state having the least

Local Support of Education. The local funds for school purposes are raised chiefly from a general property tax School districts differ greatly in wealth and also in school population Wealthy districts can provide better opportunities for their children than can poorer districts Two typical adjoining school districts in Missouri have assessed valuations of \$1,250,000 and \$750,000 respectively The school population of district A is 120 children and of district B, over 200 children District A is able to provide a comparatively good education at a much lower per capita cost than is district B In another state school districts in a single county were found to vary in assessed wealth from \$600 per child to \$26,500, whereas the county average is \$2,300 for each child Similar variations in school districts are true in every county in the country Schools are largely supported by only one form of wealth (real estate) that is becoming less and less able to bear the burden of taxation A needed reform for this situation which is being made in many states is that of consolidating many small school districts into larger ones Sometimes whole counties are organized into one school district This is called the county-unit system Thus, local inequalities of wealth are smoothed out Consolidation, in conjunction with state aid, and a more equitable system of taxation will make school support less of a burden on a few and provide more equal educational opportunities for all Local expenditures for education vary in large cities as well as in states and the smaller school districts (See Chapter 17 on Equalization of Opportunity) Educational opportunities are dependent upon a community's ability and willingness to pay

State Support of Education. While the county-unit system and consolidation are a distinct improvement over the district organization it does not provide a final solution of the problem Furthermore, the county-unit system and consolidation are in operation in only certain areas of the country As a method of equalizing school advantages and support, many states have developed forms of state

aid to local school organizations—whether county, consolidated, or district units. The funds used for state aid are derived from various sources. Some states set aside a certain portion of the general revenue, while others use special taxes for school support, such as the corporation, income, poll, tobacco, gasoline and motor fuel, inheritance, sales, and severance taxes.

This fund, variously called distributive, equalization, or common school fund in the different states, is usually allotted on the basis of need, those school districts or counties least able to support their schools from local taxation receiving the largest shares of the state fund. State aid to schools varies greatly in the different states. In one year less than 5 per cent of school support in Colorado, Rhode Island, Ohio, and Kansas came from the state as a whole, while over 40 per cent of the money used by schools in Delaware and Texas came from the state funds. The average aid given from state funds for the support of education throughout the country amounts to nearly 20 per cent of the total amount spent for education. The trend is for more progressive state governments to bear larger and larger shares of the cost of education.

Federal Aid to Education. The national government has in the past encouraged and aided in the development of education. As states were admitted to the union, land grants were made to them by the federal government for purposes of school support. During the Civil War, President Lincoln signed the *Morrill Act* (mentioned earlier in this chapter), providing federal aid for the purpose of establishing agricultural and mechanic arts courses in colleges known as land-grant colleges. This led to the establishment of several new colleges and universities and the expansion of many of the older ones. Other acts extending further aid to schools and providing for agricultural experiment stations were passed in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1914 the *Smith-Lever Act* was passed providing subsidies to the states by which the federal government matched each dollar provided by the states for vocational training. In 1917 the *Smith-Hughes Act* gave aid to secondary education. It provided funds on a fifty-fifty basis for the training and paying of high school teachers of home economics, agriculture, and mechanic arts. The federal government sets the standards for these departments, the same as it does in the land-grant colleges.

The accompanying table shows the distribution of federal funds to education authorized as usual for 1933-1934:

Land-grant colleges	\$ 8,205,822
Office of Education	310,500
Vocational Education	7,458,000
Vocational Rehabilitation	969,000
Bureau of Indian Affairs	9,386,230
Howard University (for Colored)	1,092,500
Education in District of Columbia	2,617,638
Miscellaneous school aids	2,216,000
Total	<u>\$32,255,690</u>

Emergency Federal Aid. Federal aid for schools was increasingly granted during the depression. Rural schools received the aid first, and later it was extended to needy cities. Relief funds were also given to help college students and for the extension of adult education, as well as for new buildings and repairs. The following table shows the amount and allocation of federal emergency funds allotted for educational purposes during 1933-1934.

Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works	\$ 74,000,000
Federal Emergency Relief Administration	24,415,613
(a) Nursery Schools	\$ 973,740
(b) Rural Schools	16,924,000
(c) College Student Aid	5,000,000
(d) Adult Vocational Training	1,359,578
(e) Adult Vocational Rehabilitation	283,690
(f) Adult Illiteracy	902,125
(g) General Adult Education	3,972,480
Civil Works Educational Service	60,000,000
Civilian Conservation Corps, educational program	817,169
Total	<u>\$159,232,782</u>

Many citizens are urging that a definite policy of federal aid be adopted and that a Department of Education be organized to co-ordinate the government's educational work and to adopt a policy of equalization of educational opportunities throughout the nation during good times as well as in depressions. Some see dangers in this policy, but it appears to be the direction toward which education is moving. If national education must be increasingly supported by national wealth, as is argued by educators and others

using federal support, then the only agency capable of doing the work is the federal government. The chief danger seen is that local schools may lose some of the flexibility of control that is necessary in order that they may best serve their local communities. At present the officials of most school systems are glad to get federal aid as an emergency measure, but they probably do not desire it as a permanent policy.

EVALUATING THE SCHOOLS

Current Criticisms. There are elements of dissatisfaction with our educational system. This is natural when we consider its rapid growth and the tremendous load thrown on the schools by the staggering changes that have taken place in our social system. Among other things citizens complain of the increased cost of education, the lack of training evidenced at times by teachers, the failure to provide adequately for differences between pupils, the inequalities of educational opportunities (discussed earlier in this chapter), and the emphasis upon "cultural" subjects rather than upon subject matter that trains for known needs.

Some of these criticisms are justified, others may perhaps have little or no justification. Most of the increase in the cost of education was a result of the rapidly expanding educational system due to an increased enrollment, and the extension of the system to include younger and older pupils. Mounting expenditures have been due largely to the cost of increased education rather than the increased cost of education. The lack of training of teachers has been due to inadequate salaries and to the larger demand for teachers to care for the ever-increasing numbers of pupils. Now that there is a greater number of teachers than the demand, the quality of instruction will undoubtedly improve. Ever stronger certification laws with the insistence upon higher qualifications will aid in this. Higher salaries will improve the quality of those entering the teaching profession.

More and more attention is being paid to provisions for individual differences among pupils. Education made the error of adopting industry's ideal of standardization and missed the obvious fact that no two pupils are alike in interests or abilities. Increased research

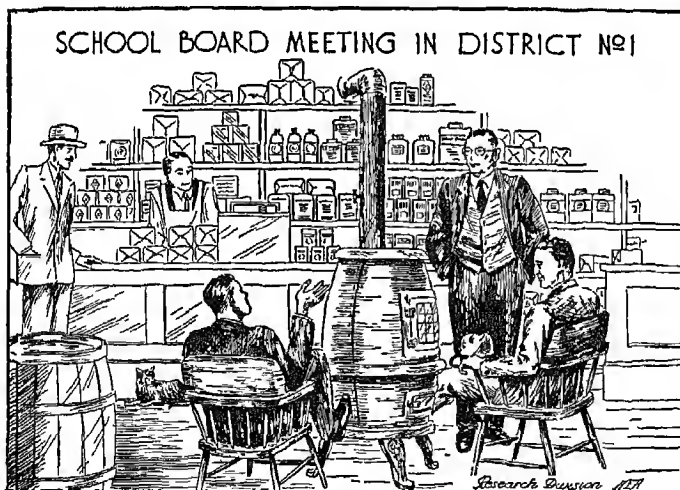
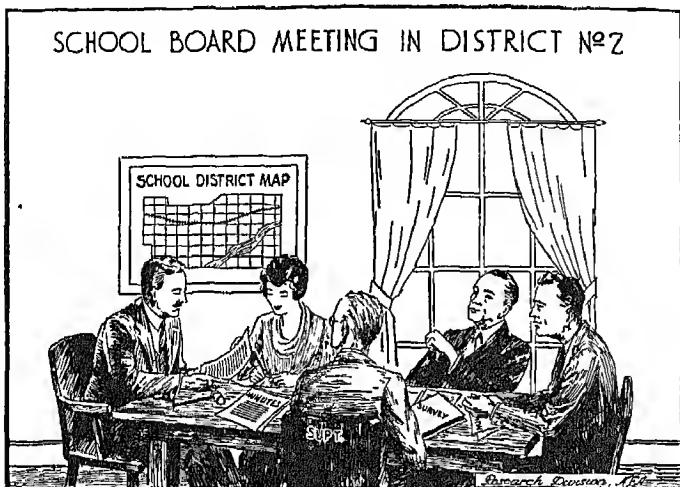
and study of child nature should result in improved instruction. Improved methods of financing education are being developed which should do much to alleviate the growing inequalities in educational opportunities. Some of the proposed remedies were noted earlier in this chapter. The curriculum is being constantly modified to meet changing conditions. While many of these criticisms are justified, nevertheless, the schools are making progress in providing a superior type of education at low cost for American citizens. The proof of this lies in the ever-increasing enrollments and in the rapid extension of the school to include both younger and older children.

Education for a Democracy. It has been well said that "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty." To be vigilant we must be informed as to the forces that jeopardize our liberty and rights. An enlightened citizenry can make the government obey its will. The public must increasingly understand the political, economic, and social problems facing our age and be able to cope with the forces that would deprive people of their sense of security and happiness. The fact that in recent years millions of our citizens have been deprived of this security and happiness indicates the seriousness of the task of living in a democratic society. Education of the people is necessary to maintain rule by the people. This education must consist of much more than the three "R's" and the conventional courses taught our forefathers. It must be rich in social studies. The public must make education easily available to the youth and adults of the land so that citizens may more surely protect their interests.

The School Board Member. In a few years you will be called upon to help decide how your community, state, and nation will face the educational questions mentioned in this chapter. You will help elect local and state boards of education. Probably no elective officers have the power to affect as directly the present and future welfare of as many people as the members of a board of education. In their hands is entrusted the welfare of the education of the people of their community.

The accompanying illustrations show two school boards in action. By which group would you rather have your educational future determined? With which group would you rather trust the educational development of your children? What indicates that the school

board of District No 2 is probably more intelligent in the study of educational affairs than the other? How can citizens co-operate in



Courtesy National Education Association

THE SCHOOL BOARD MEETING

studying educational matters? What is the Parent-Teacher Association? How may it co-operate with the school board, with the

school administration, and with the teachers? How may citizens insure efficient, intelligent direction of their school system?

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 What is the extent of public education in the United States?
- 2 Why are widespread educational opportunities vital in a democracy?
- 3 Briefly trace the beginnings of public education in the colonies and early days of the United States
- 4 What was the importance of the work of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard?
- 5 What groups of people were responsible for the early development of the public school system?
- 6 Identify the nursery school, the kindergarten, junior high school, high school, college, and university
- 7 Why is the development of higher education in state and municipal colleges and universities valuable in a democracy?
- 8 Discuss the value of each of your high school subjects
- 9 What are the advantages of school consolidation?
- 10 What was the significance of the Kalamazoo Case in the development of public high schools?
- 11 What should be the training of public school teachers?
- 12 What is the work of the state superintendent of education?
- 13 What changes are taking place in school curricula?
- 14 Discuss critically Ross L. Finney's estimate of the so-called "cultural" subjects
- 15 What reason is given for the failure of large numbers of freshmen to complete their high school courses? Explain
- 16 What purposes does higher education serve? What types of state colleges and universities have been developed in the United States?
- 17 Explain the service provided by municipal universities and junior colleges
- 18 What is the value of school and college accrediting agencies?
- 19 Explain the development of adult education and reasons for its growth
- 20 What has been the aid given to education by the federal government, both in early days and since the depression?
- 21 What problems face education in the question of financial support? What are some of the solutions suggested?
- 22 What are some of the problems facing education discussed in the section "Evaluating the Schools"? Discuss these problems
- 23 Answer each of the questions raised in the section entitled "The School Board Member"

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Three men who have contributed much to American education are Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and John Dewey. Look up each and report on his work.
2. What high school subjects do you believe all pupils in your school should be required to take? Would you change the content of any subjects that are now elective if they were made compulsory? Explain.
3. Justify the state's offering vocational training in the following fields: medicine, journalism, law, education, pharmacy, home economics, and agriculture. Are there any other fields in which the state is justified in offering advanced training? Explain.
4. Question for panel discussion: Should the federal government support and supervise public education in the United States?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. Secure a college catalog and report on the cost of attending the college, the courses that interest you, and the subjects you would probably take if attending that college.
2. How is your school supported? What is the total cost per year? What percentage is paid by the local district, the county, state, and the federal government? What types of local and state taxes are used in its support? How much is spent per pupil and how does this compare with state and national averages?

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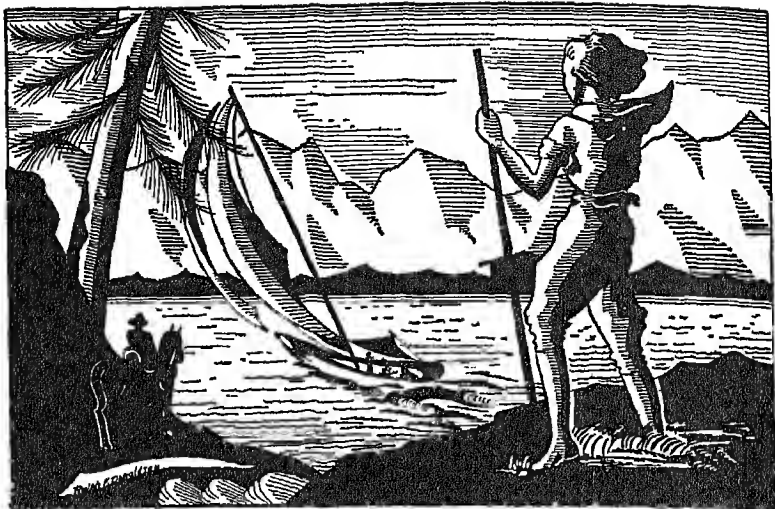
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Chapter 14 RECREATION

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To explain the increased need for recreation
- 2 To portray the changes that have taken place in recreational life
3. To show how the government has increased the facilities for leisure-time activities

THE era in which we live can be characterized as an age of machine production which results in an abundance of goods. The use of machines results in shorter working days, thereby making it possible for people to have more leisure than they had in a non-machine civilization. People are thinking more and more in terms of a shorter working week as all that is necessary to produce the goods that we need to sustain us.

Mechanization of Leisure. While machines have been used in the production of goods which are considered essential, other machines are providing new forms of recreation. The motion picture and the automobile are machines which have greatly changed our modes of leisure and our habits of recreation. The same can be said for the radio as well as of the many pieces of labor saving machinery in the households. The Lynds,¹ in attempting to make

¹ *Middletown*, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929

an evaluation of American culture, chose Muncie, Indiana, for their study. In analyzing the leisure activities of the people in this typical small American city they commented upon the passing of the theatrical productions and the present dominance of the motion picture in the recreational life of the people. They found that a generation ago the residents of Middletown were able to witness in their Opera House the presentation of as many as a dozen different theatrical productions in one month, while at the time their study was made in the twenties Middletown had no fewer than nine motion picture theaters operating daily. Machines, one can see, have provided new forms of recreation.

The Leisure of Americans. The people of the United States spend their leisure hours in a wide variety of ways. Estimates claim that each week from fifty to one hundred million admissions are sold to the movies. Millions of people each year attend ball games of one sort or another. Millions each day spend some time listening to the radio broadcasts picked up on the fifteen million or more receiving sets. Motoring for some persons occupies many week-ends and vacation periods of the summer months. Millions of people each year, chiefly in the larger cities, attend the theater, the opera, the symphony, the concert, or the lecture. All of these forms of entertainment are engaged in while the person is sitting. They are passive forms of recreation in that the person who pays for them usually participates no further than to watch or listen to the activity. Stuart Chase¹ gives us a striking and not too pleasant picture of the mechanized and standardized way of spending leisure time in America when he writes:

On a summer Sunday in America today, people also play. Some forty millions of them are being carried by a machine at thirty miles an hour, past Goodrich Tire signs and Travelers' Rests, and anon creeping in single line at one mile an hour to the escapements of bridges, ferries, tunnels, and bottle-neck highways, in a steamy sweat of oil and dust. Millions are eating the inevitable steak or chicken dinner at the inevitable blowsy road house, while the gin guggles into the Canada Dry, the radio drowns the engulfing of the canned tomato soup, and Jim and Ethel essay the Black Bottom. Ten millions are seated in the dark watching a personable young woman alternately mislay and recover her virtue for six thick rolls of celluloid. For some hours of the day, prac-

¹From *Men and Machines*, p. 254. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

tically the entire population of the Republic disappears under something in the nature of 60,000 tons of wood pulp, to the accompaniment of a noisy if not positively sanguinary struggle between the younger generation as to which has prior right to Mutt and Jeff

On the other hand there are many people who participate actively in one or more forms of recreation. The persons who participate in amateur symphonies or in choral societies, in amateur dramatics or in study clubs, in twilight or industrial baseball leagues or in bowling leagues, who play golf or tennis, who are members of the Y M C A, the Y W C A, or a club, those who paint or hike, swim or dance—these and many others engage in active recreation, and in many cases it is really creative recreation. The facilities for golf, tennis, bathing, and picnicking have developed rapidly during the decade of the twenties while baseball leagues, basketball leagues, Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops have offered other channels of recreational expression. While the number of these activities is rather small and the persons participating in them rather limited, nevertheless the forms of recreation in which people can engage are constantly increasing in variety and in extent.

Commercialized Recreation. Almost all of our recreation is commercialized. By that we mean that some one sets up facilities to be used by the public, the patronage of which will net the owner and operator some profit. This is true of the movies, of the theaters except in the case of unusual production enterprises, of almost all of the dance halls, of practically all bowling alleys, of amusement parks, and many other recreational forms. The net result is that some one is making money out of another person's good time. The more serious problem consists of the type of activity which is often tolerated in order that the proprietor can make money. The public dance hall is not æsthetic in its setting; the theatrical producer and the motion picture producer are concerned too often with producing something which has box office value rather than something of dramatic merit. As a result of such standards public taste is lowered and recreation is demoralized.

However, it must be remembered that commercialized recreation will continue to hold a large and important place in the life of the American people. There are some types of recreation which, if they were not provided by commercial interests, would not be furnished at all. It is clear that organized government cannot and does

not provide more than a small part of all of the recreation needed by the American citizens

The problem of leisure, one can readily see, is definitely linked with a number of other problems. One of these is the choice between a shorter working day for the American citizen and unemployment. If the shorter working day is chosen, as it inevitably must be, the American citizen has a problem on his hands as to how he shall spend his leisure time. Other problems are concerned with crime, housing, transportation, and especially education. Because leisure is linked so intimately with these other problems and because wholesome leisure must be provided for all people, it becomes necessary for governments to assist in the solution of the problem.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTS IN RECREATION

Government in a New Role. We know that the citizens are constantly demanding services from their government only because other agencies usually fail to provide them. The women's clubs, the golf clubs, the luncheon clubs, the lyceum and chautauqua, the Y M C A. and Y W C A., together with many other associations for recreation, do not provide recreational opportunities for all citizens. Instead the citizens look to the government to make provision for publicly-supported facilities.

In this connection we might examine the needs of the Tompkins family. They are substantial, middle-class people who operate a neighborhood grocery store. Their annual income doubtless falls considerably below \$2,000. They own their home, they are church members, the father carries a small amount of life insurance. Their daughter is an accomplished pianist whose music instruction over a period of nearly ten years has cost the parents a substantial sum of money. The mother is an extensive reader and encourages all of the family members to take advantage of the excellent facilities which the public library offers. The father spends a brief vacation each year in trout fishing, the stock of which must be provided and the waters for which must be protected by organized government. The youngest son is learning to swim, the older son is mastering tennis and is eager to take up golf, but the family does not feel it can afford a membership in the country club where these activities are available. It is natural, therefore, that the members of the

Tompkins family and their friends are eager to have golf courses, tennis courts, and swimming pools provided for them at public expense. They say that they are willing to be taxed in order to have these services provided.

The activities provided are rather varied in their scope. They include parks, playgrounds, bathing beaches, golf courses, libraries, art galleries, operatic productions, stadiums for games and other activities, auditoriums, together with such aspects of school work as athletics, dramatics, and music. All arms of the government—city, county, state, and federal—provide some facilities for such use. The activity is not limited to any part of the country. People everywhere are coming to realize that provision for desirable leisure constitutes one of the necessary jobs of any satisfactory government. Workers are being trained to direct programs of recreation, chiefly in the cities, and competent recreational directors sometimes command fine salaries from the public treasury.

Governments Plan for Recreation. That government is coming to look upon recreation as one of its jobs is reflected in the plans which have been started in many government units—cities, counties, states, and the federal government. Cities have been active in establishing parks and playgrounds. The Parkway in Philadelphia, extending from the central business district to the extensive Fairmount Park, with the Public Library and the City Art Gallery accessible along the route, is a notable illustration of what an old city can do to eliminate a congested residence area and provide itself with an artery of travel which has distinct recreational uses. In Chicago, the Outer Drive, adjacent to such centers of intellectual and recreational interest as the Field Museum, the Art Institute, the Shedd Aquarium, the Planetarium, and Soldiers' Field, and constructed on land reclaimed from Lake Michigan, is another notable illustration of how government has set up recreational facilities. The Columbia River Highway, in the environs of Portland and built largely at county expense, suggests another unusual engineering accomplishment as well as an avenue for giving urban people access to the open country. These are illustrations of how old cities, without any planning, have been replanned in order to make them more attractive. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and Elkhart, Indiana, are excellent illustrations of small cities which have beautified their river fronts, while Denver and Seattle have developed extensive

park systems for use by the citizens. At the same time it is important to note that we have a few small cities in our country which have been planned with a view to taking care of the recreational needs of the inhabitants. Radburn, New Jersey, Longview, Washington, and Maumont, Ohio, are the outstanding examples of cities that have been planned for recreation with parks, playgrounds, and civic centers within easy access to all residents.

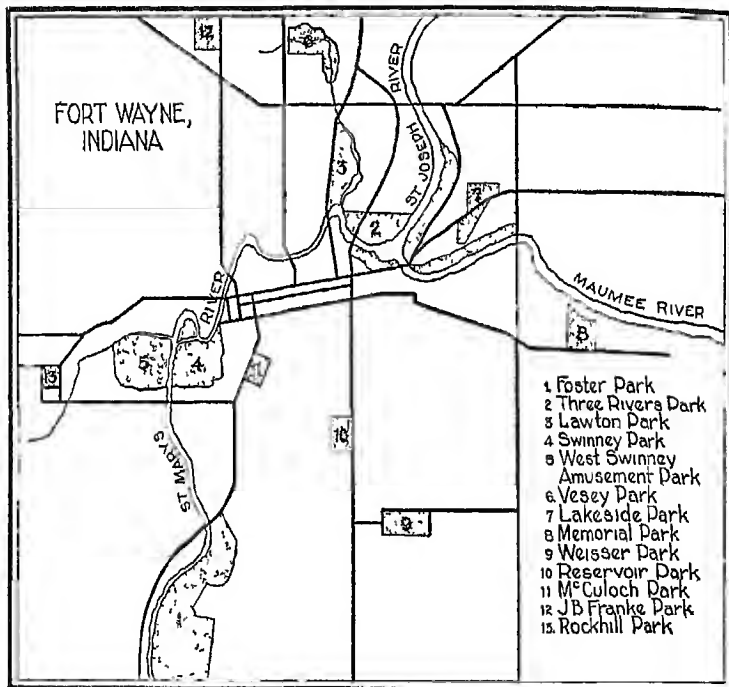
The cities have not been alone in providing recreational services, although to this time they have been the most active of all the government units in providing citizens with facilities for leisure. The counties have established parks, golf courses, and bathing beaches. The states have set aside parks, camp sites, and extensive forests for hiking, motoring, and camping. The federal government has its organization of national parks and national forests.

FACILITIES FOR RECREATION

Parks and Playgrounds. The parks and playgrounds of our cities are brought into most intimate contact with the masses of people who are most in need of recreational facilities. These services in such cities as Chicago, Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Cleveland, and Seattle are quite outstanding. Among the smaller cities the publicly-supported recreational facilities of Springfield, Illinois, and Fort Wayne, Indiana, have attracted attention. The budgets of these cities for operating the parks and playgrounds are quite extensive, although they are probably not as large as they might be in order to have a complete and thoroughly satisfactory program of recreation. In normal times, when we do not feel the necessity for practicing extreme economy, such cities spend about \$1.00 per year per resident in maintaining public recreational facilities. This expenditure is made in addition to the cost of maintaining libraries and museums. Obviously this constitutes a small part of the total city budgets, and appropriations for recreation in the future are certain to be increased.

Chicago, through its park commissions, was a pioneer in providing play facilities for the public. Its parks today are a monument to the enterprising citizens who, at the opening of the present century, saw the possibility of developing a park system. The extensive use of Washington and Jackson parks on the South Side

and of other parks in other sections of the city provide ample proof of the need for this kind of government service. The park and playground movement has spread to the point where in 1933 the National Recreation Association reported that there were 1,012 cities, large and small, in the United States, which had some form of organized and supervised facilities for recreation. These projects



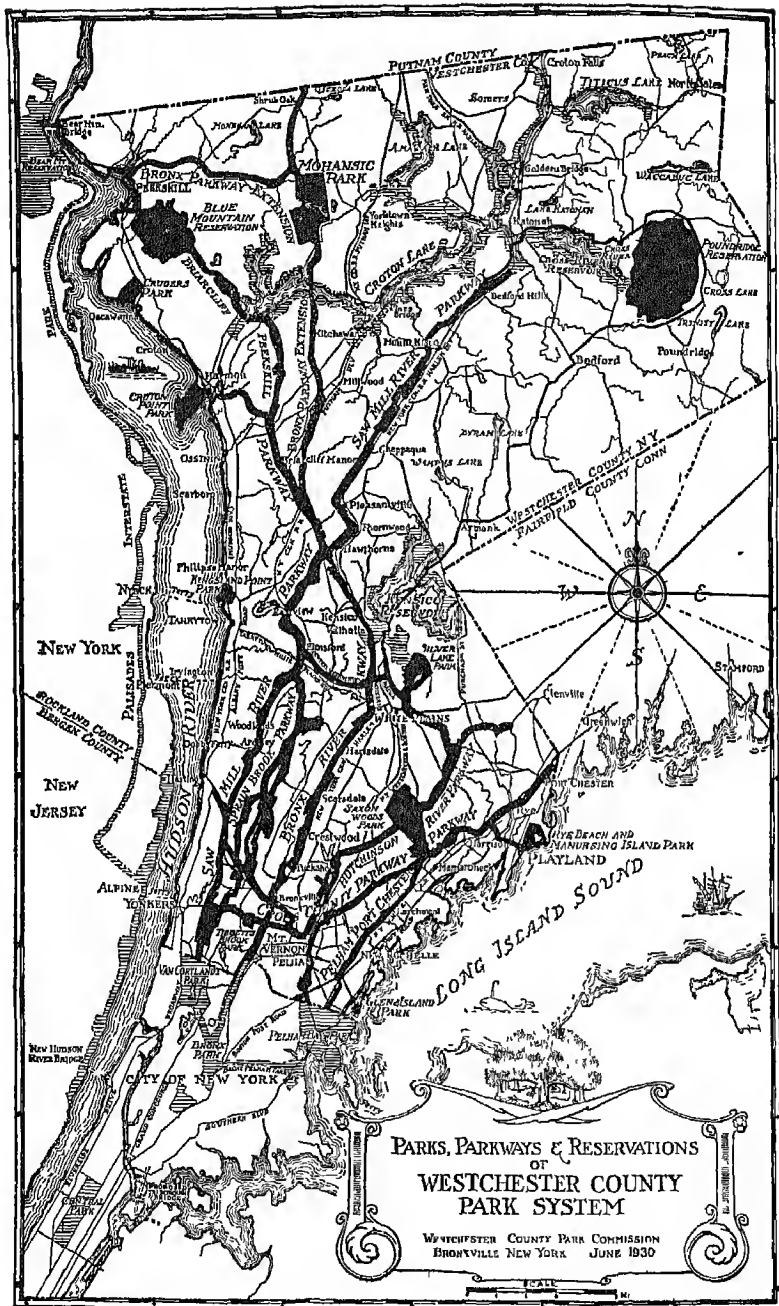
include a wide variety of sports and games, singing and other forms of music, dramatics, toy making, holiday celebrations, airplane and boat construction, together with other activities. In some cases these activities are provided through the public schools, but more frequently the city government or the park commissioners provide the funds and the facilities with which the activity is carried on. Of course, in some of the smaller cities these services have not been provided at public expense but have been furnished by funds raised by private organizations in the community. However, in the larger

cities these services have been provided from the public treasury, the directors of the work being paid and the materials and equipment being provided at public expense. Many recreational services arise in connection with other government activities. An example of this is the recreation that has developed in connection with artificial lakes, constructed for supplies of city water.

It has been computed by the United States Census that 76 per cent of all public money spent for recreation is spent by municipalities. The total government expenditures for recreation in one year amount to nearly \$200,000,000. This amount is relatively small when contrasted with the cost of all recreation purchased by the American people, costing about \$10,000,000,000 a year. In fact the public expenditures for recreation amount to a mere 2 per cent of all the money spent for leisure activities. This seems to indicate that governments can expand their recreation programs considerably before even a large part of the recreation is provided at public expense.

The County Parks. If we look at the county governments we find that some of them have made rather extensive provision for parks. One of the most outstanding illustrations is Westchester County, New York, in the suburban area of New York City. With a population in 1930 of slightly more than 500,000, the county had expended through its park commissioners about \$60,000,000 over a period of years in acquiring and improving lands for a wide variety of recreational purposes—golf, bathing, hiking, motoring, picnicking, and other diversions. The entire holdings of the park area consisted of more than 16,000 acres, included in fifteen different units. During 1932 more than 7,000,000 people visited and used these properties operated by the park commissioners, who in that year had a total budget for operation of more than \$1,500,000. However, practically all of the cost of operation was paid from the small fees which were charged for the various recreational activities, so that in this well developed system of county parks the cost of operation did not come from the general tax fund.

Cook County, including Chicago, has developed an extensive system of county parks. These parks are known as forest preserves. They total more than 30,000 acres, with parks ranging in size from a few acres to more than 4,000 acres. The areas include golf courses,



PARKS, PARKWAYS & RESERVATIONS
OF
WESTCHESTER COUNTY
PARK SYSTEM

WESTCHESTER COUNTY PARK COMMISSION
BRONXVILLE NEW YORK JUNE 1930

camp sites, and other provisions for people to enjoy the out-of-doors

Many counties have already established some kind of parks and recreational services, while others are certain to do so. A study made by the National Recreation Association as early as 1929 reveals that there were about 300 county parks in existence in the United States, a large number of these being located in the metropolitan districts of New York and Chicago. One can be certain that many additional park areas will be added to the county systems.

State Parks. Some of the states have done commendable jobs in establishing and operating rather extensive systems of parks and forests. These parks, as a rule, are in wooded areas and often include scenic wonders of timber growth or some striking geologic formation. New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Indiana have done unusually well in the number and in the excellence of the parks which they have established. Michigan has about seventy such pieces of property, with almost all of them facing on some water front, thus making available many attractions in the form of water sports. That the state parks of Michigan are much used is revealed in the fact that in one year the number of visitors totaled almost 9,000,000. Indiana's parks are not as numerous, but her parks attain in excellence what they lack in number. Located in all parts of the state, they are visited by many people. The parks have been made possible in those states where there has been an aroused opinion demanding their creation and also where public officials have been made aware of the importance of the government's performing such services. Alfred E. Smith when Governor of New York, Gifford Pinchot in Pennsylvania, and Samuel Ralston in Indiana have been pioneers in the field of establishing state parks.

One cannot find a better statement of the obligation which government should assume in providing recreational facilities for its citizens than Governor Ralston's letter in 1915 creating a commission to investigate and report to him on the possibility of acquiring certain properties for recreation. He wrote

Turkey Run, in the central northern part of Parke County, is a most picturesque locality. With its environs it forms what is known as Bloomingdale Glens. Bloomingdale Glens have been for many years and are now used by seekers of outdoor pleasure as a summer resort. But seekers of pleasure do not always revere God's gifts, or spare the

charm and quiet loveliness of natural surroundings. And too often the public fails in its duty to protect these gifts and preserve them from the hands of the despoilers, for the admiration, joy and comfort of future generations.

Now, therefore, I, Samuel M. Ralston, as Governor of Indiana, in obedience to the request and out of deference for the solicitude of the Indiana Federation of Clubs, to save from deterioration as well as desecration the grandeur of nature thus displayed in its primitive beauty, do appoint and constitute, but, without authority of legal enactment, William Watson Woolen of Indianapolis, Vida Newsome of Columbus, and Juliet V. Strouse of Rockville—all of Indiana—commissioners to examine Bloomingdale Glens and the neighborhood thereabout, with a view to determining and reporting to the Governor, what can be done by themselves or the state or both, to preserve the natural beauty of this place, and keep it as a habitation for the wild life of the woods, and as a restful retreat for man, to the end that there the young may find romance, older folks rest and all recreation and a renewing of the spirit through a real communion with nature.

Intelligently directed departments of conservation in some of the states have aided materially in developing the park system with a view to providing the best services for the visitors. This service consists of providing facilities for such activities as hunting, fishing, camping, hiking, picnicking, and other out-of-door activities. The increasing number of visitors to the Michigan parks is represented in the following table, and this also suggests the rapidly expanding work of the state governments in the field of recreation.

1925	2,539,000
1927	5,100,000
1929	7,450,000
1930	8,890,000

In Pennsylvania we find that the Department of Forests and Waters by 1930 had leased to citizens more than 2,000 permanent camp sites, in addition to the extensive facilities provided for temporary camps. In its free literature the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania appropriately describes many of its forests and parks. One illustration, a description of the Alan Seegar State Forest Monument, follows.¹

Within this monument are hemlock trees of unusual size and beauty—undoubtedly some of them were growing here when Columbus discov-

¹ *In Penn's Woods*, Department of Rivers and Forests, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1928, p. 61.

ered America—and there are stands of oak that have no superior in the State. There are also groups of rare Table Mountain pine. Magnificent growth of rhododendron, some of them 40 feet high, borders the streams that pass through this monument. Here is an ideal recreational center and camping spot. Beautiful Stone Creek flows through the monument, and an excellent trail has been developed so that this beauty spot is accessible to the public.

In presenting the descriptive material on the many forests of the state, Pennsylvania suggests¹ a challenging policy of recreation which might be emulated by other states.

State forest monuments are areas of singular beauty, set aside within the State forests for permanent preservation in natural condition. Here plant and animal life is wild and primeval, according to the ways of nature. These restricted areas are to be preserved undisturbed in their wildness, that the people of Pennsylvania—our children and their children—may for all time to come be able to visit selected and choice remnants of the glorious Penn's Woods of olden days.

Within the State forests are swamp areas, exposed mountain places with peculiar plant associations, and regions of rocks, boulders, ledges, and precipices of rugged scenic beauty, supporting little other than the low forms of plant and animal life. These may also be set aside as State forest monuments.

Since the prime use for our forests is utility—service toward meeting the everyday needs of life—it is not possible to preserve all our woods in their original wild condition and keep them so, but it is most fitting that the Department of Forests and Waters is vested with authority and direction to "set aside within the State forests unusual and historical groves of trees or natural features especially worthy of permanent preservation, to make the same accessible and convenient for public use, and to dedicate them in perpetuity to the people of the State for their recreation and enjoyment."

Federal Parks. The federal government has more than a score of national parks administered in the Department of Interior by the National Park Service which was created by an act of Congress in 1916. These parks provide recreational activities—motoring, hiking, fishing, mountain climbing, nature lore, and sight-seeing—for millions of persons each year. The hot springs and geysers, the mountains and canyons, the waterfalls and lakes, the wild animal life and the rare plants, the giant trees, and the peculiar rock formations are some of the many works of nature which attract citizens. While these parks are not near to the centers of population, never-

¹Ibid, p. 58.

theless they provide a fine service to the citizens. These parks have been created at different times, Yellowstone being the first. Yellowstone, Glacier, Grand Canyon, Shenandoah, Rocky Mountain, Mount Rainier, Great Smoky Mountain, and Yosemite are among the larger and more popular of the national parks. The geologic and the glacial formations, together with their plant and animal life, make them places of unusual merit to the vacationist and tourist. The United States government spends about \$10,000,000 yearly in the maintenance of the national parks. However, one must realize that this is an exceedingly small part of the federal government's total budget and an exceedingly small expenditure when we consider the large number of park visitors. The service in the federal parks is on an exceedingly high level. Travelers are protected by the park officials from excessive charges by the persons who hold concessions to sell articles and accommodations. The excellence of this service is due largely to the public spirited character of Stephen Mather, a leading conservationist in his day, who served as head of the park service for more than a decade.

Parks and Conservation. All of the publicly owned areas are not available for recreational uses but large parts of the public lands are open for such use. Pennsylvania had acquired by June 1, 1932, 1,556,500 acres of land, all of which would be utilized for state forests and much of it for recreation. This acreage constitutes 5.4 per cent of the area of the state, large sections of which have been acquired at little cost—more than 1,000,000 acres in small parcels at an average of \$2.26 per acre. The publicly owned acreage in Michigan has expanded to nearly 2,000,000 acres. Quite obviously the recreation movement, especially of the state and the federal governments, is closely associated with the conservation movement and also associated with the retirement from use of marginal and submarginal lands.

These park areas, whether of the federal government or of the states, are planned for a number of purposes. They provide people with facilities for getting into the open country. Equally important is the opportunity which they provide for teaching people the wonders of nature, and also of the importance of preserving these wonders—trees, rocks, soil, streams, game, fish, flowers—for themselves and to posterity. The preservation of these products of nature constitutes a part of the conservation movement. Furthermore, the

public should be made aware of the importance of conserving our forests from fire and from unwise harvesting of timber. This conservation is essential not only for a future timber supply but also in the interest of controlling soil erosion, of preventing floods, as well as in the interest of securing the reforestation of non-productive agricultural lands. Then, too, the preservation of the natural beauty which we find in forests is one of the obligations of the government.

The Future of Parks. The government is certain to develop and preserve more of these beauty spots of nature. The federal government is certain to acquire large areas of land with a view to reforesting it. The use of these reforested areas will greatly expand the opportunities for recreation in the open spaces of America as well as contribute to the conservation of our resources. There are millions of acres in the United States which are privately owned but which should be owned by the federal government or by the state governments in order to promote conservation. Late in 1934 the National Forest Reservation Commission, of which the Secretary of War is chairman, announced that it had approved the purchase of more than 2,000,000 acres to be added, at the cost of more than \$8,000,000, to the national forests of the eastern half of the United States. The National Resources Board, in its report in 1934, recommended that 75,000,000 acres of land should be retired from agricultural use during the next fifteen years. Public parks should be created in almost every county—certainly in every county which has in it some center of population. County boards of supervisors and county commissioners should have this problem under consideration as part of the program of government for their county. The extensive experiment in controlled development of a region under the Tennessee Valley Authority presents an unusual opportunity for the federal government to demonstrate the possibilities for wholesome and varied recreation (see Chapter 17).

Golf Courses. Probably nothing in the field of recreation has experienced such a phenomenal growth as the number of golf courses. In 1916 there were 742 golf courses known to be in existence in the United States. By 1930 the number had grown to 5,856, or almost an eight-fold increase. A large number of these courses were publicly built and are now maintained by small fees collected from persons who use them. For those who think that governments

should not establish golf courses it should be pointed out that the fees collected usually pay for the operation of the course and sometimes pay a small profit. In 1931 there were about 700 publicly-owned and operated golf courses, almost all of them having been constructed since 1925. The publicly-owned courses are located chiefly in the metropolitan centers. People who cannot afford the cost of membership in a private golf club look to the publicly-owned courses where they can derive the play which they desire. This demand has grown so greatly of recent years that it is not to be questioned that the establishment of golf courses and other athletic facilities has become a distinct government function.

Public Libraries. Organized government supports other activities which should be considered recreational. Chief of these is the library which has come to be such an important part of the life of the people. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago are some of the larger cities which have extensively used public libraries. These libraries operate not only from a central building, in or near the central business district, but usually have many branches in outlying sections of the city. The governments of many of the smaller cities also make grants of money to the library service of their respective cities. Andrew Carnegie was responsible for encouraging the development of libraries in the United States through his extensive gifts of more than \$40,000,000 for the establishment of such institutions. Publicly-supported libraries, of which there are more than 6,000 in the United States, render a service in the field of leisure which is one of the important services of the city government. The modern library provides many services other than supplying books. In the modern library one is likely to find rooms for art exhibits, club rooms for meetings of persons who can profitably use the library, and opportunities for hearing lectures on topics of general interest. Almost all libraries provide "reference" service from which the reader can secure information dealing with a subject of his interest.

The various state libraries render a valuable service to the citizens who are able to establish contact with them. Every American should know of the national library at Washington, the Congressional Library, one of the great libraries of the world. It was begun more than a century ago when Congress purchased the private library of Thomas Jefferson as the nucleus for developing a great

national library. This great institution has a decided advantage over other libraries in that the United States copyright regulations require that every copyrighted book shall have two copies deposited in the Congressional Library.

The county library is an institution which is little developed and which is certain to be developed more extensively in the future. Some states have enacted legislation which allows county governments to use a small part of their tax funds for establishing and maintaining a library. The county library usually has its central building and most of its books and equipment in the county seat and from there serves the remainder of the county by automobile truck, through contacts which it makes with schools, churches, clubs, and other groups wishing library service. California is reputed to have the best managed system of county libraries.

Other Recreational Facilities. European cities provide funds for a wider variety of recreation than we do in the United States. It is quite common to find the opera subsidized from public funds in continental cities. In our country little money is paid from the public treasuries for the support of music. However, it is quite common in our larger cities for the police departments to maintain excellent bands. Then, too, the United States Marine Band and the United States Navy Band are other musical organizations maintained from public funds. A number of cities have built and are helping to maintain some fine art galleries, the exhibits of which are open on most days free to visitors. While the leading art galleries in America are supported chiefly from private funds, nevertheless there are cities which help in maintaining such institutions. Probably the best illustration of this is the municipal art gallery in Philadelphia. The zoological and the botanical gardens in our cities, both large and small, are excellent illustrations of what the government can do to provide unusual exhibits of animal and plant life. The Bronx Zoo in New York, the Zoological Gardens in Philadelphia, and the Forest Park exhibits in St. Louis are outstanding in this field. Museums of natural history where one can find rare specimens of animal life as well as exhibits of the earlier civilizations are institutions of importance in the leisure time of our citizens. The Field Museum in Chicago, the Commercial Museum in Philadelphia, the Museum of Natural History in New York, together with other excellent museums in other cities reveal to us

how important this type of institution is and what a large part the city governments are destined to play in the future development of them. The same can be said of the stadiums, auditoriums, and convention halls which have been built in some of our cities in recent years at public expense.

THE CONTROL OF RECREATION

Methods of Control. Organized government not only provides various forms of recreation, but it also attempts to control the recreational services which are set up by commercialized agencies. It does this chiefly through the police departments, although the departments of health are usually responsible for establishing satisfactory standards of health at bathing beaches. The fire departments or the building inspectors usually regulate the safety of public halls and theaters, inspecting them for fire hazards. The police are expected to prevent the operation of gambling houses and other forms of vice. Dance halls come in for a routine amount of inspection by the police. Organized government licenses saloons, night clubs, and cabarets. Police women are employed in many of our cities to supervise parks, dance halls, and other recreational centers in the interest of protecting girls and young women. Thus in a variety of ways organized government assumes control over recreation.

Education for Leisure. If the government is to complete a program of recreational activities for the citizens it will be necessary for many persons, including many school officials, to use the work of the school more extensively than is now done, to enable citizens to spend their increasing hours of leisure pleasantly and wholesomely. This means that the school will have to educate people in those arts and activities which have the greatest possibility for use as recreation. One of the authors of this book, in commenting upon the importance of the school program in relation to leisure activities¹ wrote:

The public school, therefore, needs to develop an educational program with the view to controlling the extensive problem of leisure time—a problem of far greater magnitude a decade from now than it is at the present time. School gardens, where organized, need to emphasize the

¹ See "The Public School and Recreation" in *Recreation*, September, 1932, 26.271

growing of citizens rather than the perfect cultivation of flowers and vegetables. Dramatics, increasing in their development everywhere in schools and colleges, need to emphasize the phase of personality enrichment which comes from participation, rather than a kind of social subservience that develops from watching the "stars." Athletic coaches need to learn that their job is one of developing the largest number of persons in the greatest variety of channels rather than win trophies with a few stars. Band and orchestra conductors need to forget the state and national contests and organize their students with the end of making articulate and socialized citizens through music—not of the "stars" but of all who hear the call to this particular activity and are not tone deaf. Sports and games, including dancing in its many forms, need to be organized for the joy that comes to the individual rather than for the emblems that are pinned on his chest. Literature teachers need to learn that a mastery of the mechanics of the language is infinitely less valuable so far as leisure is concerned than is the development of the reading habit with a view to making every citizen a good companion for himself at the library or under his reading lamp.

It should be clear that the job for the school is not to make us more efficient in the production of goods but more skilled in the art of spending a rapidly increasing amount of leisure time.

The Future of Recreation. The intelligent use of leisure time is one of the problems of the age in which we live. Educators, editors, social workers, and statesmen are becoming aware of its importance to the citizen, giving him as it does an opportunity to live a full and happy life. The government units—local, state, and federal, must be called upon to provide more recreational facilities to the end that all citizens will have access to these services. An editorial,¹ under the title of "More Abundant Life," voices this position to advantage when it holds

It is slow, but it is inevitable. The forces moving toward securing more of the good things of life for the common man are making progress even while we look aghast at temporary setbacks.

The most recent evidence of this tendency is in the new yearbook of the National Recreation Association, showing a large increase in public recreational facilities during 1933.

At the end of that year there were 7,434 outdoor playgrounds, an increase of 444. Nearly 800 new baseball diamonds were built during the year, and fifty-eight new bathing beaches.

¹*Indianapolis Times*, June 20, 1934. Reprinted by permission from the editors.

More than 500 new recreation areas and centers were opened, in fact, almost all sports facilities were greatly enlarged except municipal golf courses and swimming pools, which showed a slight decline.

Federal aid made these expansions possible, as most counties cut down their recreation budgets.

More leisure, more sunshine, recreation, and fun in life for the average fellow. It's coming, slowly but surely.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 In what ways have machines changed our leisure-time activities?
- 2 Criticize the leisure-time habits of Americans.
- 3 What is the place of commercialized recreation in modern life?
- 4 What is the new rôle of government in providing leisure-time facilities?
- 5 Give examples of ways in which governments are beautifying the territories they serve. What has this to do with recreation?
- 6 Explain how cities have made provisions for leisure through the creation of increased park and playground facilities. Give examples.
- 7 What part have counties played in making provision for parks?
- 8 What illustrations can you give of states that have developed extensive park systems for the use of their citizens?
- 9 What does ex-Governor Ralston believe is the obligation of states to provide park areas?
- 10 What is the policy of Pennsylvania in creating state recreational areas?
- 11 Name and be able to locate on a map the large national parks cited in the text. Which one is nearest to your home? Perhaps members of the class have visited one or more of these parks and will be willing to tell the class about them.
- 12 What is the relation between setting aside large areas for state and national parks and the problem of conservation?
- 13 Why is it believed that the policy of preserving large areas in government controlled recreational projects is certain to expand in future years?
- 14 Explain the increased number of publicly-owned and administered golf courses in the United States.
- 15 Explain the development of municipal, county, state, and national libraries. What man has done more than any other person to stimulate the building of city libraries?
- 16 In what fields of recreation is the government probably certain to expand its work? Why do you believe this is true?
- 17 In what ways do governments supervise and control privately-owned

recreational interests? For what purpose does it exercise supervision?

- 18 What part does education have to play in leisure-time activities?
- 19 Why must governments become increasingly active in providing greater facilities for recreation? Comment on the editorial quoted from the *Indianapolis Times*

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Give reasons for and against the policy of providing recreational facilities at public expense
- 2 What should be the relationship between man's productive activities and recreation?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. What facilities for recreation are provided by your city? What support do they receive from the city? Do you consider this money well-spent? Why? Can you suggest any further work that should be done along this line?
- 2 Report on the parks that are provided by the government of your state, giving locations and attractions. Be prepared to discuss any of these parks that you have visited. Do you know of any areas of scenic or historic interest that should be added to the state park system?
- 3 Report on the commercialized forms of recreation in your community which are inspected by the police department. Is further supervision or inspection necessary?
- 4 What has your city done to beautify itself through improving natural beauty spots, such as river, lake, or harbor fronts, or through creating artificial places of beauty? What further improvements can you suggest?

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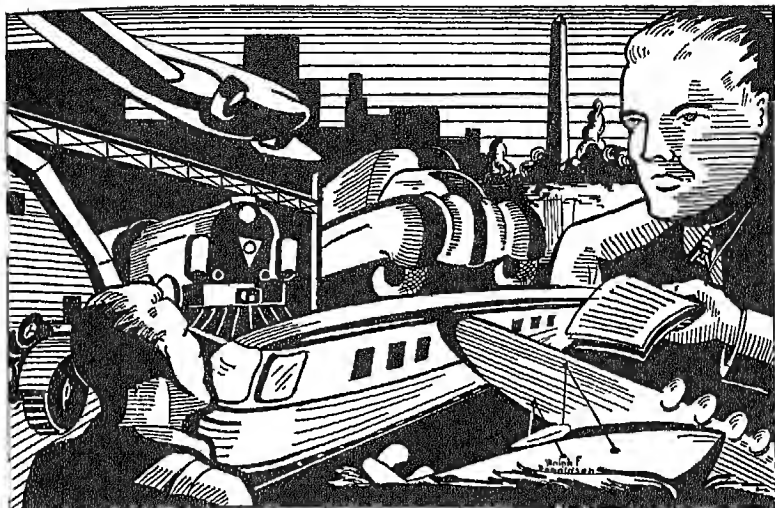
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Chapter 15 AIDING BUSINESS

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To explain ways in which the government has aided business
- 2 To show the different types of business which the government has aided
- 3 To illustrate dangers which may come from unwise government subsidies

WE HAVE seen how the American citizen has looked to his government for education and recreation. This is by no means all. Business men of various sorts, manufacturers, publishers, farmers, shippers, and others have gladly accepted government aid. In the majority of cases, indeed, they have organized themselves into effective bodies and have demanded government help (see Chapter 20). This aid has taken a great variety of forms. Some of the most important will be discussed in this chapter.

The Tariff. Perhaps the chief government aid to industry has been that provided by the protective tariff. By setting import duties (see Chapter 8) high enough to prevent or to curtail the entrance of foreign goods, our government has, in effect, granted a subsidy to manufacturers. This has been done, except for short intervals, since about 1816, and to a small extent even before. In fact it was

proposed, and the arguments in favor of it were clearly stated, by Alexander Hamilton in his famous Report on Manufactures in 1791

The makers of textiles and clothing, the manufacturers of steel and iron products, and the producers of hundreds of other articles in common use have profited through the protective tariff. The consumer foots the bill. That American industry has expanded and prospered under this protection is not to be denied. It is easy to prove that it has helped many industries through their infancy and made them strong and healthy. The great American textile industry is an excellent example. It is also true that, if we are to be prepared in case of war, we should protect our chemical industry, our clothing industry, our steel industry, and any other business of a vital military nature. It is also argued, though not all economists have accepted this, that the tariff protects the American worker from unemployment and low wages which might follow if we freely admitted foreign-made goods. But all this has been done with the aid of a government subsidy.

On the other hand, the tariff has injured some business, particularly industries which depend on exports, as well as placing a heavy burden on the consumer. As this country has moved in the direction of cutting off imports, other nations have done the same. It is a simple axiom to observe that what one nation sells another nation must buy. If all nations try to sell much abroad and buy little, obviously there will soon be neither foreign buying nor selling. Yet this is precisely what our tariff policy has sometimes tried to do. Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace recently pointed out our inconsistency when he said, "The American people firmly believe in the sacredness of exports and the hellishness of imports."

The net effect of aiding business through the tariff is to encourage certain selected industries at the expense of others and to charge the total cost of the subsidy up to the consumer.

Gifts to Railroads. A few railroads, especially those along the eastern coast, were built with private funds without government aid. But the federal, state, and local governments made large grants of money and land to assist the construction of most of the western roads. Starting about 1850 the federal government granted nearly 3,000,000 acres of land to the Illinois Central Railroad, alternating plots of ground one mile long and six miles wide along the right of

way. In later years the width was increased to ten miles. All told over 100,000,000 acres of land, or 5 per cent of all the land in the United States, was given to the Pacific railroads alone. In addition, they were given the free use of timber and stone for construction and cash grants of over \$60,000,000.¹ The total amount of land given to western railroads is about equal in size to the six New England states, New York, and Pennsylvania combined. Under a strict *laissez-faire* system this could not have been done. But business asked for government aid and got it.

Trucks and Busses. In recent years federal, state, and local governments have aided the automobile industry, as well as all citizens who use the roads, through the construction of thousands of miles of paved highways. As much as \$1,000,000,000 has been spent upon this in a single year. These highways were paid for chiefly, though not entirely, by taxes on auto owners. One result of their construction has been to provide a market for the sale of automobiles and petroleum products.

Some of the railroads have objected to the building of highways. They said that the competition of busses, trucks, and automobiles was ruining the railroad business and that the reason trucks and busses could charge lower rates was because their roadways were built by the taxpayers. The railroads called this "unfair competition." It is true that some railroads built and paid for their own roadways. But when one thinks of the great amount of government aid which was extended to the railroads in their early days, it is hard for truckers, bus companies, and automobile manufacturers to see the unfairness of having the government extend aid to them. This is especially true because of the heavy license fees imposed at present upon trucks and busses.

Other Public Utilities. Other public utilities have also received aid from the government. The street railways have been permitted to lay their rails, and set up their trolleys on city property. Telephone companies, gas companies, electric utilities, and others have been permitted the use of public property. In many cities the utility concern has been required by the terms of the franchise to pay for these gifts, either by annual rentals or by low rates to the city government itself. However, these payments have usually been

¹ The Pacific roads were granted cash as follows: \$16,000 a mile on the plains, \$32,000 a mile on the plateaus, and \$48,000 a mile across the mountains.

considerably smaller than the value of the property used. Some cities have built subways and bridges, at great expense, and then granted the use of them to a private company for a low fee.

Ship Subsidies. In like manner the government has aided shipping by boat. This has been done by building canals, harbors, and docks, and by maintaining lighthouses, dredging services, and other aids to water traffic. The building of canals cost the government well on to \$1,000,000,000. Since the World War there have been additional expenditures for shipping. The U. S. Shipping Board, a federal government agency, has loaned money at low interest rates to encourage the maintenance of steamship lines. Mail contracts have been granted, sometimes providing payment of as much as \$12 a mile for carrying a small quantity of mail. This helps the shipbuilders and the shipping interests at the expense of other citizens.

Special Postage Rates. Of great aid to the newspaper and periodical business is the very low rate charged for second-class mail. Newspapers and magazines have thousands of mail subscribers. They pay only a fraction of what private individuals pay. If they were required to pay full postage rates they would be greatly handicapped, many would be ruined. So the government grants them special rates. Second-class mail is always carried at a loss, this one class being responsible for most of the usual postal deficit. The best possible reason for giving this aid is so that all citizens will be encouraged to read newspapers. This and other aids of the kind ultimately aid the citizens as a whole.

Airplane Subsidies. After the postal department had demonstrated that the carrying of mail by airplanes was practicable, the business was (in 1927) turned over to private concerns. The contracts to carry mail were so liberal as to amount to subsidies. In 1933 the payments totaled almost \$20,000,000. This was an average of \$2.50 for every pound of mail carried. The government charged postal users only \$80 a pound (5¢ an ounce) for air-mail. The difference was paid by the government. Under such liberal subsidies aviation prospered. In 1933 it was shown in a Congressional investigation that the government had paid excessive rates for air-mail and that the airplane companies had reaped exorbitant profits. For example, one company received in six years more than \$40,000,000 from the government. The vice president of this company

realized a cash profit of \$9,500,000 on a \$253 investment while he personally received, during this same six-year period, salaries and bonuses of \$1,307,000

Here again the interests of all citizens were probably served by the extension of aviation. The principle underlying the government subsidy was as sound as every government aid. But the amount of aid seems to have been excessive.

Patent Office. American business has been materially helped by the activity of the Patent Office in the Department of Commerce. Here inventors, or the companies to which they have sold their inventions, are granted exclusive rights to the use of the invention for a period of seventeen years. The inventor files an application, the Office searches to see if the new device infringes on any previous patent, and, if not, grants a formal patent. Machines, processes, tools, and designs may be patented, as may trade-marks. Works of art, writing, and the like are copyrighted under a similar plan for twenty-eight years.

These services are almost vital to American business. The Eastman Kodak Company, for example, could never have reaped such good profits, nor have employed so many American citizens, without the protection the government gave to its patents and its name. The same is true of many other businesses. Up to 1931 a total of 1,797,380 patents had been granted in the United States and new ones were being added at the rate of 50,000 a year.

Standards. The Bureau of Standards in the Department of Commerce was originally given the task of fixing definite standards of weights and measures. How heavy is a pound? How long is a yard? Somewhere in the country there must be a precisely accurate pound and an exact yardstick. Then others can be compared with these and others with these others and so on. This task, so vital to honest business, has been done by the Bureau of Standards.

However, the Bureau has done much more. It has organized one of the greatest research laboratories in the world. Here have been drawn up "Master Specifications" for hundreds of articles used by the federal government itself and by the states as well as private business concerns. Many manufacturers use the formulæ and specifications so drawn. For example, a large soap manufacturer advertises, "This Liquid Soap is guaranteed to comply with the United States Government Specification No. 27 for Liquid Soap,

as adopted by the Federal Specifications Board, on June 20, 1922, when tested by method shown in circular of the Bureau of Standards No. 124 Copies of specification and method of testing will be sent gratis upon application " The use of government standards for drugs and medicines is also quite widespread (see Chapter 11)

In recent years the Bureau has been helping business in the development of Simplified Practice Recommendations In co-operation with the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Engineering Standards Committee the manufacturers of many commodities have been induced to simplify and standardize their products Some of the elimination of useless sizes, shapes, and varieties is shown in the following table

	Formerly	Now
Paving brick . . .	66 Varieties	4
Hollow building tile	36	19
Reinforced bars	40	11
Bathtubs	441	58
Milk bottles	44	9
Auto wheels	175	4
Files	1,351	496
Tires	287	32
Woven wire fence	552	69
Nails and tacks	428	181
Boilers	130	13
Hot water tanks . .	120	14
Steel lockers	65	17
Roofing slate	98	48
Grape baskets	78	11

The Bureau of Standards estimates that the savings to manufacturers of these articles will amount to \$293,000,000 a year The benefits to retailers who can keep smaller stocks on hand, and to consumers, who will find replacements easier, are also undoubtedly large

Information Services. The government aids business by many forms of information service One of the most extensive of these services is the Daily Bulletin of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce Herein are listed, day by day, a survey of business opportunities in all parts of the world Business men may get this Bulletin for a small fee Then there is the Monthly Survey of Cur-

rent Business with very valuable statistical material. There are extremely valuable Census Reports, there is an Annual Commerce Yearbook, there is a Monthly Labor Review, and a Federal Reserve Bulletin. Wide-awake business men in many lines make full use of these valuable services.

Reconstruction Finance Corporation. When the business depression which started in 1929 had reached its height, business men again turned to the federal government for aid. This time they asked for direct money loans. Inasmuch as there had been over 100,000 commercial failures, including over 5,000 banks, during the first three years of the depression, the government felt that loans to business were justified. From February 2, 1932, (when the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was set up) until April 30, 1934, the loans made included the following:

Loans to—

Banks	\$1,552,919,902
Railroads	402,056,101
Mortgage companies	251,750,042
Building and Loan companies	114,132,053
Insurance companies	89,326,758

Other loans raised the total to \$2,823,653,149. While there was some criticism of the handling of these loans and a number of charges of favoritism were made, the majority of the citizens seemed to feel that this form of aid to business was justified.

Housing. The problem of securing decent houses for people of moderate incomes, so long neglected in American cities, has led to another form of government aid. In New York City a number of limited dividend corporations have been set up to clear out slums and to replace them with good apartment buildings. The government aids by granting tax exemption for a period of years. This is a great aid to investors and to the building trades and contractors.

In 1934 President Roosevelt asked Congress to authorize a very extensive housing program involving the expenditure of large sums of money. This law (which was enacted in June, 1934) provided for (1) loans to home owners for modernization and repair, (2) loans to banks and insurance companies who help finance home-improvement, and (3) loans and grants to cities for housing projects. If these funds which are available are fully used, the con-

struction industry will be tremendously benefited and through it, the steel industry, the lumber industry, the electrical industry, and other kindred businesses

Higher Prices Another phase of recent government aid to business, and to agriculture, was the manipulation in 1933 and 1934 of the monetary system so as to raise prices. In every business depression prices fall. They fell from an index number of 98 in October, 1929, to an index of 55 in the Spring of 1933. This caused losses to business men who had goods on hand, and to all persons who had investments which declined greatly in value. There began to be great agitation for *inflation*. Inflation is increasing the quantity of money in order to raise the general level of prices. Business men organized into groups to demand government action to boost prices. To a certain extent they succeeded. The gold content of the dollar was lowered and various other monetary devices were used so that in 1935 prices had risen to an index of above 80. Business activity and profits rose accordingly.

Of course not all business men wanted higher prices. Bankers and the creditor class in general opposed any drastic move to inflate price levels. Careful students of economic history warned against rapid and uncontrolled inflation. But farmers, small business men, and many manufacturers and traders looked to the government to restore a "normal" price level. This the government set out to do.

Scientific Agriculture. The demands of farm leaders of a generation or two ago were directed chiefly toward improving the methods used in American agriculture. The government should teach the farmer how to farm, or at least how to farm more efficiently. How could the yield of farm land be increased without damage to the soil? The government proceeded to show how.

Agricultural Experiment Stations were set up in several states where actual farming was carried on using scientific methods. These stations were frequently connected with state universities, agricultural colleges, and the like. A plot of ground which was scientifically fertilized was farmed side by side with an untreated lot, and the crops offered full proof of the benefit of the fertilizer. Careful selection of seed was shown to be of great value. The same was true in the breeding of live stock. These and hundreds of other methods were demonstrated patiently to skeptical farmers. Many

important discoveries were made. The Department of Agriculture (set up in 1889) distributed thousands of bulletins to farmers explaining the better methods and encouraging their use. Many of the states, in addition to maintaining agricultural colleges, created departments of agriculture in the state government, conducted state and county fairs, and by many other devices preached the benefits of scientific techniques.

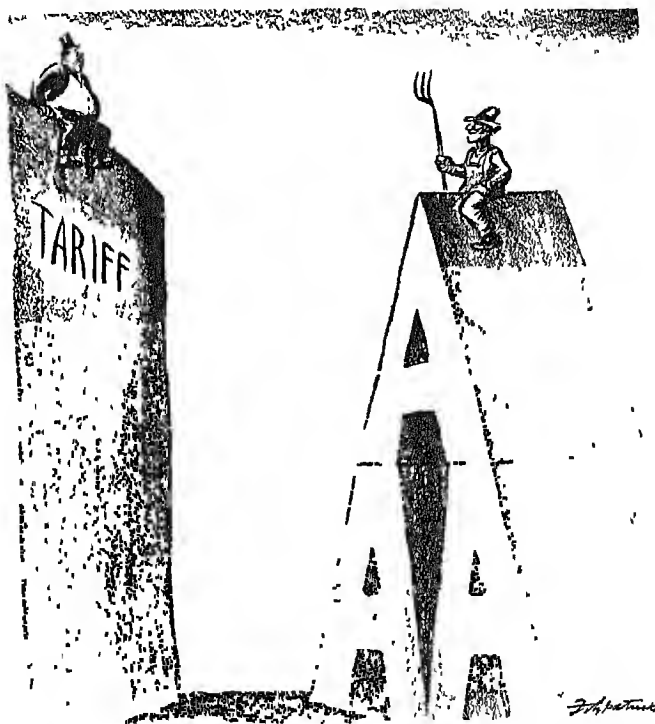
This work was strikingly well done and successful. Back of it all lay the need for conservation and improvement of our greatest national resource, the soil. The farmer benefited somewhat, although farm prices were often not adequate, but the nation benefited more. In recent years this work has been continued and additional features added. Government men now show the farmer how to keep books, how to market his crops effectively, how to select his machinery, and equip his buildings. None of this work before 1929 was in the form of direct government aid, that is, no cash benefits were paid to the farmer nor were any attempts made (except for a few months in 1918) to raise the prices of farm products.

Farm Relief. The farmer is a business man. But he was somewhat slower than other business men in asking (and getting) direct government aid. However, during the collapse of farm prices which started after the World War, the farmers organized and clamored for aid. Twice Congress enacted farm relief measures and twice President Coolidge vetoed them. But in 1929 the "Hoover Plan" of farm aid took effect. A Federal Farm Board was set up to do two things: (1) to encourage the growth of co-operative marketing by farmers, and (2) to "stabilize" the price of farm commodities by buying and selling at opportune times. The first part of the work was excellently done and did result in the steady growth of co-operatives. The stabilization operations, while they did hold the American price of cotton and wheat above the world prices, failed completely to give the farmer fair and stable prices. This also resulted in a \$150,000,000 loss to taxpayers, which would of course have been a small price to pay for farm relief if relief had actually been secured. But the plan was unsound and failed.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 provided for large payments to be made to farmers who cut production, the plan being to reduce the production of farm products so as to wipe out the

surpluses and to raise prices. The funds were to be raised by "processing taxes" paid by consumers. The plan did raise the prices of farm products quite materially during the first year of its operation. It may be safely predicted that government aid to agriculture has come to stay.

Conclusion The above illustrations are but a few out of hundreds of examples of government aid to industry. Government aid has



Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch

"HEIGH-HO THE DERRY-OH, THE FARMER'S IN THE DOUGH!"

been extended at the request of business interests. Business men have organized to secure tariff protection, to secure good roads, to get ship subsidies, and so on. They have lobbied in Congress, they have propagandized the country. This is the way democracy functions. Powerful groups, in this case business men, use the government in their interest. No one will deny that much of this has been

sound and desirable David Lawrence¹ voiced this principle in the following radio address:

We are hearing strange things nowadays about government. Critics have arisen to emphasize that government is full of "bureaucrats," that government is "wasteful," hence our high taxes, and that the time has come to perform a surgical operation represented by the slogan, "less government in business."

The term used to describe government co-operation with industry or business or the individual is "paternalism." But it all depends on who is being helped. If the government aids the farmer, some of our business men denounce it as "paternalism." If the government sets up a system by which manufacturers can be safeguarded against the sale of cheaply-made products from abroad, why that's only legitimate protection.

But we who are on the sidelines have a right to ask:

What is the true function of government? Where does it begin and where does it end? Shall its favors be distributed to a few—to groups here and there? Or is government obligated to maintain the general welfare and dispense its bounty for the direct and indirect benefit of all its citizens?

The truth is government for generations has been the spokesman of national desire in the expenditure of public funds. And by national desire is meant the deliberate judgment of the national legislature after weighing the merits of every special plea in terms of the general welfare.

Thus, today federal aid is granted to shipping and the American merchant marine can borrow money more cheaply from the federal government for new ships or the purchase of ships previously owned by the government than it can in the money markets of private capital.

Federal aid is granted the airplane industry through the air mail contracts, which again encourage a transportation industry.

Federal aid was given the railroads originally in grants of land and rights of way worth many hundreds of millions of dollars, which wealth belonged to the American people.

Federal aid is given every day to the publishing industry through the grant of second class mail privileges, while the average citizen pays higher postage for his mail.

Federal aid has been given, and is being given, to the automobile industry through the billions of dollars spent in public roads, without which the development of the automobile would have been seriously retarded.

Federal aid is given every industry that obtains a protective tariff because it cannot compete with cheaply made goods abroad. This aid is

¹ Address by David Lawrence delivered through the National Broadcasting System and affiliated stations on November 15, 1931. Quoted by permission of Mr. Lawrence.

intended, not merely for the manufacturers, but for the workingmen whose purchasing power is maintained through the wage levels thus preserved

So when we enumerate all these federal aids and subsidies, we cannot overlook the concerted attack that has recently been made on the tendency of government to aid the farmer. Agriculture is a twelve billion dollar industry, basic in America's scheme of things, yet a net expenditure of \$100,000,000 a year for co-operative marketing spread over two or three years is pointed at as wasteful. Overnight we granted foreign peoples an indefinite postponement of \$250,000,000 due our federal Treasury, because our slightly paternalistic government wanted to protect our banks whose foreign credits were endangered.

In the trying period through which we have been passing the American farmer has been crying for aid and has had his prices stabilized for a long time through government help. Unquestionably, intermediate businesses in the farm world were adversely affected. Undoubtedly, too, importers have had their businesses destroyed by high tariffs. I am neither defending nor opposing any particular form of government aid, but I am endeavoring to explain a fundamental principle of government action so that you can decide for yourselves whether we have come to the point of abolishing all government aid and subsidy for business and the individual, or whether we should go on in America extending aid to whatever group or groups of individuals seem in need of it so as to "promote the general welfare," as the federal constitution phrases the obligation.

I think everybody is entitled to argue against government interference with business or even the extension of government aid, but a respectful tolerance requires us to remember that it is a poor rule that doesn't work both ways. If there is to be no further government in business, then logically it might be argued that all aids be withdrawn lest this become a government for the few instead of the many. If, however, the principle is maintained that government shall continue to respond to the demands of the people, expressed through their national legislatures, that all public funds, federal, state and local, be distributed so as to promote agriculture as well as industry and commerce, education as well as sanitation, then the question need not turn on whether government is paternalistic, co-operative, or unduly helpful, but whether government in the various fields of action designated for it by our legislative system is carrying out the mandates of the people and spending the money in the general interest.

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I have spoken of unenlightened business men. By that I mean individuals who, without active participation or counsel, permit others to speak for them, groups that permit others to carry on campaigns in their behalf without sensing the dangers to themselves in such tactics.

But I cannot omit a reference to the enlightened business men who have refused to thwart their government's efforts, who have accepted the principle of government aid to others in the same spirit as if it were aid to their own groups. They have recognized that government will help groups, it will help individuals, it will help whole sections and regions if the need is urgent and the voice of the nation demands such aid be extended.

The present system is a development of generations—that government should aid business in the pioneering or emergency stage and then retire, that it should help infant industries, that it should aid the farmer and the laborer. That's how government has been functioning and we must concede that it is expensive. But the result has been the continued growth of America. It is, perhaps, natural that in a depression primary and original purposes should be forgotten and that the pendulum should swing to the reactionary thinking, whose instinctive concept is oligarchy—a government by the few for the few—instead of a democracy for the many.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. Explain how the tariff is in reality a form of subsidy for the protected industries. Who pays for this protection?
2. What gifts were given to the railroads? Can aid to trucks, busses, and auto manufacturers be justified? Explain.
3. How have shipping industries been aided?
4. What commercial groups are aided by special postal rates?
5. How did the government aid the young airplane industry?
6. What dangers must be guarded against in giving government aid as illustrated by the air-mail contracts?
7. In what ways do patents and copyrights aid business?
8. How does the Bureau of Standards assist American business men?
9. What bulletins are issued by the government that are of great service to business men?
10. How did the government come to the aid of business during the depression through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation?
11. What was the government's aim in establishing aid to home owners? How did this aid business?
12. What types of business are aided by higher prices (inflation)? What interests lose when inflation develops?
13. Explain early government aid to agriculture. What is the A. A. A.? How does it work?
14. How do business interests succeed in securing government aid?
15. How can government aid to business be justified? Explain the justification David Lawrence makes for aiding the farmer.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 List the chief arguments for and against the protective tariff
- 2 Why were the air mail contracts cancelled in 1934? Do you believe that the Postal Department should develop its own air mail service? In what way is it to the interest of all citizens for the government to encourage the airplane industry? The shipping industry? The chemical industry?
- 3 It has been proposed that instead of granting patent monopolies, the government should buy all inventions at a fair price and make them available to everyone to copy freely. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this plan?
- 4 European countries have made great strides in improving their housing conditions with government funds. Find out what has been done in London, in Vienna, and in Glasgow.
- 5 Find out what is meant by "managed currency." Do you approve of it?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. Were the railroads in your community given government aid? How? How much?
2. How does your city government give aid to such industries as the telephone company, gas and light corporations, a privately owned water company, bus, street car, and interurban companies?
3. Has your city (or state) government encouraged corporations to locate there by allowing them to be free from taxation for a period of years, or by other special inducements? Criticize this practice.

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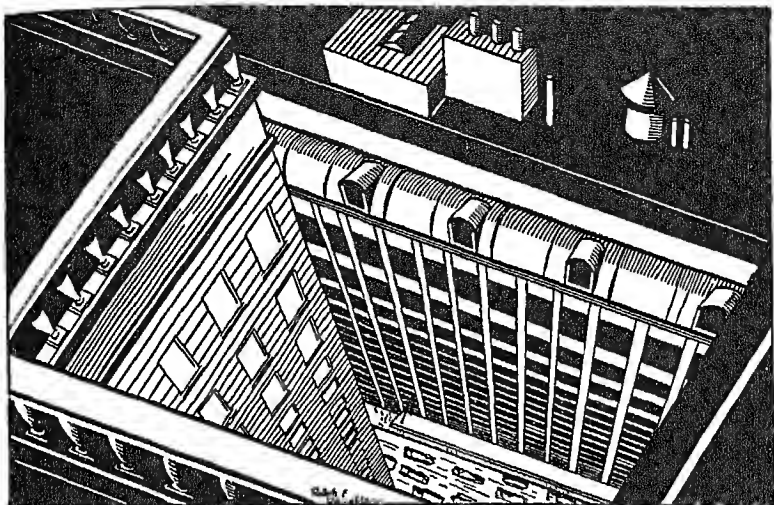


PART V

THE CITIZEN REQUIRES A FLEXIBLE
GOVERNMENT

GOVERNMENT must not only perform services well, but in order to do this it is necessary for the machinery of government to be adapted to the changes which take place in the needs of the people as their modes of living become more mechanized and urbanized. People who live in cities require more services from their government than people who live in the open country. In order to render these services, and to render them well, it becomes necessary for government to be flexible and changeable so that the demands of the citizens can be met.

In Part V we shall trace the rise of the metropolitan areas (Chapter 16) and the decline of the population in many parts of the country. In another chapter (Chapter 17) an effort will be made to show the necessity for reorganizing government units—school districts, cities, and counties—in order to secure government machinery which will carry on the functions which citizens in a modern democracy need to have performed. Finally, in the last of these three chapters (Chapter 18), we shall trace the tendency for government functions to be centered in the larger unit of government—the state instead of the county and the federal government instead of the state.



Chapter 16. METROPOLITAN AREAS

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To present some causes for the rapid increase in city population
- 2 To consider problems arising from concentration of population
- 3 To explain the reasons for misunderstandings between rural and urban groups.

Do you live or have you lived in a metropolitan area? Do you have friends who live in a metropolitan region? Does government cost more for each citizen in the large and congested centers of population than in the smaller cities? Why have people moved to large cities? Why do they remain there? In this chapter we shall attempt to show how rapidly much of the American population has shifted from the open country and villages to urban centers. We need to see that large cities are a recent development—that Chicago did not come into existence until a little more than a century ago and that New York was a city of less than 100,000 people only a century and a quarter ago.

THE POPULATION MOVES CITYWARD

The Meaning of Rural and Urban. The United States census, which is taken every ten years, classifies the population of our

country in a number of ways. One of these classifications consists of the division of all the people into one of two classes—rural and urban. The population which lives in the open country or in towns of 2,500 or less is considered rural. On the other hand the population which lives in towns and cities or places of more than 2,500 is considered urban.

Other Tests of Urbanization. Many people think that number is not a good test by which to distinguish the rural population from the urban. A small, incorporated town, near to a large city and having 2,400 population is classified as rural. On the other hand a county seat town, far removed from a big city and having 2,600 people, is classified as urban. Obviously the smaller town in the metropolitan area is likely to be more urbanized than the larger town surrounded by open country.

Probably a better test of an urbanized population would consist of an examination of the variety and also of the quality of public services which are available. If a town has its streets paved and lighted, if it has sanitary sewage disposal, if its citizens are provided with water and with gas from central plants, with garbage, ash, and rubbish collection, its people could think of themselves as urbanized in the best social sense, even though their numbers did not reach 2,500. Furthermore, we might consider urbanization from the viewpoint of the density of the population. This is found by determining the number of people to the square mile. New York City has about 21,000 people to the square mile, while the least populous county of your state may not have more than 10 to 20 people to the square mile. The density of population might be a good basis for determining the degree of urbanization. Furthermore the variety of industries available in an area might be an index of urbanization. However, since it would be difficult for all practical purposes to classify population by any of these methods we shall rely upon the system of classification which the United States government has used since 1790 when the first census was taken. At least this classification is easy to operate and to understand and we shall use it as the basis for our study.

Trends From Rural to Urban. At the close of the Civil War and for several decades thereafter the American people were rural and agricultural. By the close of the nineteenth century the trend toward the cities was noticeable. By the census of 1920 we find

that more than half of the American people were classified as urban. The table given below will show the rapid shift during the half century from 1880 to 1930 in percentages of the total population.

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Rural	71 4	64 6	60 0	54 2	48 6	43 8
Urban	28 6	35 4	40 0	45 8	51 4	56 2

The reader will see that the percentage of the urban population practically doubled from 1880 to 1930. One might wonder what the percentage of urban population might be in 1980, especially if the rate of urbanization continues as it has been developing during the last half century.

Now that we have noted the decline in the percentage of rural people and the increase in the percentage of urban people we can turn our attention to another classification made by the United States census—that of the percentage of people living in towns or cities of 8,000 or more. In 1880, 22.7 per cent of the population lived in such centers, while in 1930 the percentage was 49.1, or practically half of the nation's population.

The number of people on the farms, in relation to the total population, is declining in importance. They constituted 29.5 per cent of the total population in 1920 but only 24.6 per cent in 1930. There are some people who believe that we do not need as many people on the farms as we now have to produce the agricultural commodities which we need. It is reasonable to assume that the percentage of the farm population will continue to decline.

Reasons for the Shift. There are many reasons, no doubt, for the rapid increase in the urban population, but the chief one is the increasing importance of the use of machines, on the farms as well as in the factories of the cities. The extensive use of agricultural machinery has made it possible for one man on a farm to accomplish much more than one man could accomplish a generation ago. The machine has produced a high degree of specialization and this specialized work is done in the cities to which large numbers of skilled and unskilled workers are attracted. The hogs, cattle, and poultry which the farmer raises are killed in the cities and largely consumed there. The grain which he raises is ground in the city and, again, largely consumed there. Even the machines for his work,

the lumber and hardware for his buildings, the radio, the newspaper, and the telephone for his enlightenment and entertainment are products of the city factory, as are also the automobile, the wind pump, and the gasoline engine

In addition to this high degree of mechanization it must be noted that the city is a place of great attraction and allurements, and many people who were not born there are willing to experiment with the task of living there. The city is likely to have many attractions—libraries, theaters, music halls, colleges and universities, museums, and comfortable housing. Of course many people who have gone to the city to live have been greatly disappointed because they have not found the attractions which they expected. This disappointment has been due to a variety of factors—monotonous employment, unattractive housing, and a shortage of low cost cultural and recreational facilities.

CONCENTRATION OF POPULATION

Piles of Population This tendency to move to the city has resulted in immense aggregations of people in a few places. The great piles of population are illustrated by one study¹ made recently which shows that one-fourth of the country's population in 1910 lived in 39 of the 3,053 counties while in 1930 one-fourth of the population lived in 27 counties. The same study suggests² that the 93 cities of 100,000 or more in 1930 had 36,000,000 people in them, or approximately 30 per cent of the total population. At least half of the people of the United States live within daily access to a city of 100,000 or more.

On the other hand, many rural counties have been declining in population quite regularly for a half century. In Illinois 27 of the 102 counties had fewer people in 1930 than they had in 1870. In Indiana, 24 of the 92 counties had fewer people in 1930 than they had by the census of sixty years earlier. This condition may not be as striking in some states as it is in Illinois and in Indiana, but there are many counties, some even in the older states, which have experienced a decided decline in population.

¹ *Recent Social Trends*, p. 445.

² *Ibid.*, p. 447.

Large Cities and Small States. If we look at the large centers of population from another angle we observe that Erie County, New York, including Buffalo, has as many people as Montana and Wyoming combined, that Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, has almost twice as many people as Delaware, that Lackawanna County, Pennsylvania, has many more people than Wyoming, that Cuyahoga County, including Cleveland, Ohio, has more people than Utah, Arizona, and Delaware combined, that Cook County, Illinois, has 4,000,000 residents, and that such cities as Peoria, Illinois, El Paso, Texas, and Erie, Pennsylvania, each have more people than Nevada

Concentration in a Few Places. When we examine the census reports for 1930 we find that slightly more than 30 per cent of the country's population is concentrated in four states. It should be noted also that the population of each of these states is more extensively urbanized than is that of the entire country

	Total Population	Per Cent Urban
United States ..	122,775,046	56 2
New York	12,588,066	80 4
Illinois	7,630,654	73 8
Pennsylvania	9,631,350	67 8
Ohio	6,646,697	67 8

When we examine the population of each of the four states, we find that the concentration is excessive, not in all portions of the state or even in many portions, but only in a few sections. Cook County has in it more than half of the people of Illinois. New York City, and two counties (Westchester and Erie), have approximately two-thirds of the population of the state, while three counties in Ohio (Cuyahoga, Hamilton, and Franklin) have approximately one-third of that state's population. Briefly, we may conclude that America's population is tending more and more to concentrate in great metropolitan areas.

Large Cities in Modern States. There are a number of notable instances of the governments of large cities coming into conflict with the governments of the states of which these cities are a part. New York City has a population of at least 55 per cent of that of New York State. In addition to having a majority of the people

of the state, New York City has the largest budget¹ of expenditures of any government unit in our country except that of the federal government. It is quite natural, therefore, that New Yorkers should prefer to have more of the policies of their government determined locally rather than at Albany, the state capital. Cook County, including Chicago, has more than half of the population of Illinois. The Chicagoans, therefore, think that they are entitled to more representation in the government of Illinois than that which is now allowed them. They want greater representation at or more freedom from Springfield in the determination of their government policies. Philadelphia's population of nearly 2,000,000 and that of Allegheny County (1,374,410) constitute over one-third of Pennsylvania's population. Wilmington has within its corporate limits nearly half of the population of Delaware. The interests of the people of this flourishing manufacturing center are entirely different from those of the remainder of Delaware, where agriculture is the chief industry. From an industrial and social viewpoint Wilmington is a part of the metropolitan area of Philadelphia, while southern Delaware looks more to Baltimore or to Norfolk for its social and commercial contacts. Six congested counties of northern New Jersey (Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Middlesex, Passaic, and Union) have within their borders two-thirds of New Jersey's population. The interests of these people, their political demands, and their political affiliations are naturally quite different from those of southern New Jersey where agriculture is prevalent, except in those places where shore resorts dominate the pattern of living. Baltimore has approximately half of Maryland's population. Quite naturally the political interests of the people of this metropolis differ from those of the eastern shore where agriculture is dominant, or even from those of the mountain districts of western Maryland where mining is a prominent industry. More than half of the people of the state of Washington live in the six counties which are near to or on Puget Sound. The political demands of the people who live in or near the principal cities of this area (Seattle, Tacoma, Bellingham, and Everett) differ from the political desires of those who live in the so-called "cow counties" in eastern Washington. Lumbering, fishing, and special types of agriculture in the Puget Sound region

¹ The budget for New York City for 1933 was \$504,009,644 while the budget for New York State was only \$223,588,000.

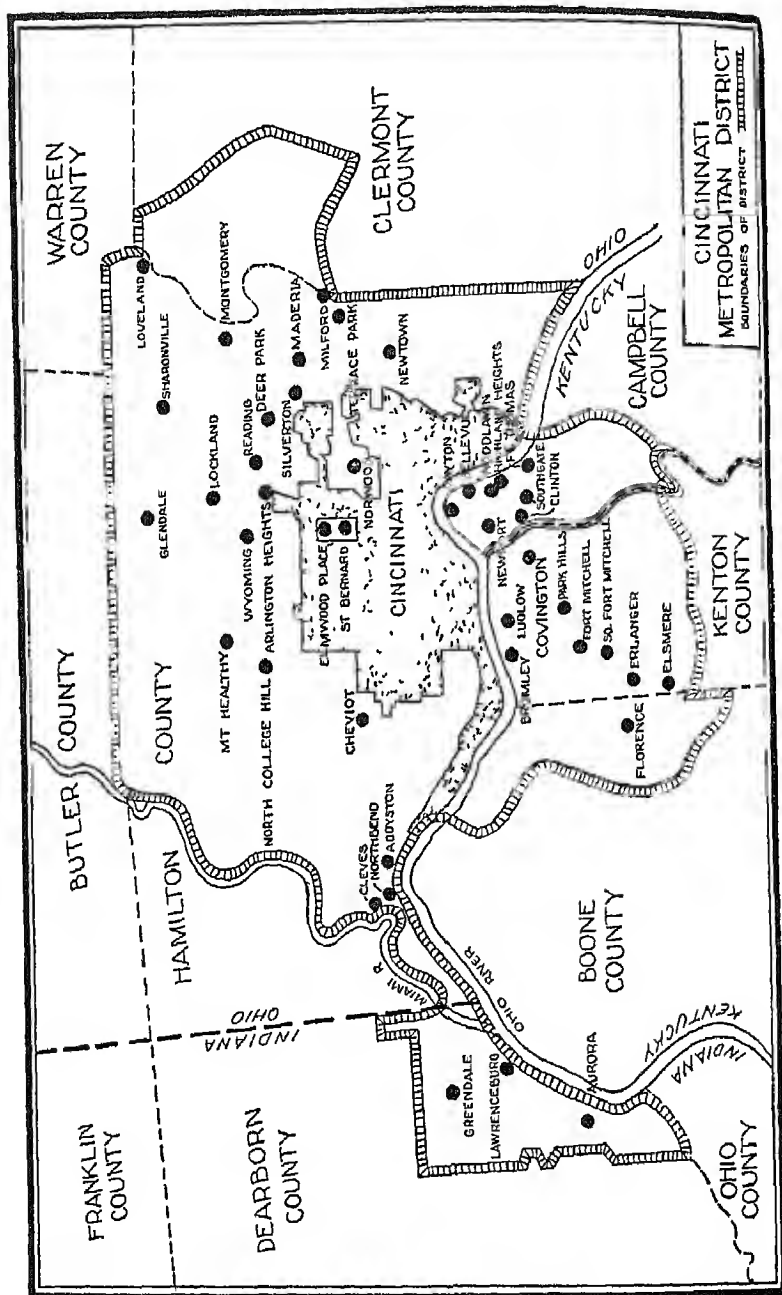
create political demands different from those of eastern Washington, where wheat and apples constitute the staple crops. In all of these cases we find not only a difference in political interests but actual conflicts over the control of government policies.

Concentration Along Deep Water. While there is always a tendency for people to concentrate near to rich natural resources, it is also true that during recent decades there has been a decided concentration of population in those areas which have access to deep water. The next table gives the percentage of increase in population in the United States and in several of the states between 1920 and 1930.

United States	16 1	South Dakota	8 8
California	65 7	Minnesota	7 4
New Jersey	28 1	Missouri	6 6
Texas	24 9	North Dakota	5 3
Oregon	21.8	Iowa	2 8
New York	21 2	Vermont	2 0
Washington	15 2	Montana	-2 1

It can be seen that the population of the inland states did not increase as rapidly between 1920 and 1930 as that of the United States as a whole. In fact, Montana actually declined in population. On the other hand, some of the states which had access to deep water increased much more rapidly than the country as a whole. Washington, a state which has access to the sea, did not increase during this decade as rapidly as the country as a whole but between 1900 and 1910 her population increased 120 per cent. Of course it is true that access to deep water transportation is not the only factor which has produced rapid growth of population. The presence of natural resources in abundance attracts many people, as in the cases of the inland state of Oklahoma, the iron and steel area of which Birmingham is the center, and also in the anthracite coal counties of Pennsylvania.

Some Deep Water Cities. If we go into the problem we find that some cities, located on deep water, have grown more rapidly than other cities. Cincinnati, on the Ohio River and once the most flourishing city of Ohio, now has a population only half as large as that of Cleveland. St. Louis, a city on the Mississippi and seventy-five years older than Chicago, has increased only slightly during the past thirty years, while Chicago has doubled her population.



The table which follows shows the rapid rate with which the tide-water and the lake-front cities have grown in contrast with the slower growth of the river cities

			Population Index ¹
Deep Water	1900	1930	
Los Angeles	102,479	1,238,048	1208
Houston	44,633	292,352	655
Detroit	285,704	1,568,662	549
Seattle	80,671	365,583	453
Cleveland	381,768	900,429	236
Milwaukee	285,315	578,249	203
Chicago	1,698,575	3,376,438	198
River			
Louisville	204,731	307,745	150
Pittsburgh	451,512	669,817	148
St. Louis	575,238	821,960	144
Cincinnati	325,902	451,160	138

TRoublesome PROBLEMS FROM CONCENTRATION

The shift of population from rural to urban areas has created a number of troublesome problems. These include such questions as the congestion of population in cities, the apportionment of representation in the legislatures, the delegation of a larger measure of home rule to the large cities, problems of assessing and collecting taxes, the greatest efficiency with which government can operate, the control of machine politics, and other problems pressing for solution. Students of social and political questions recognize that these problems should be solved in order to work out a sane program of government which will give the greatest happiness to all the people.

The Problem of Congestion. An increase in the number of people in a metropolitan area results in troublesome congestion in living conditions. One city block in New York is reputed to have more than 4,000 people living in it. The least congested county of Illinois has twenty people to the square mile. On the average, this amounts to having a family of five on each 160 acre farm in the county.

¹The population index is derived by dividing the population of the given year (1930) by the population of the base year (1900). The index is 100 more than the percentage of increase.

On the other hand the most congested county of Illinois has more than 4,200 to the square mile. New York City has more than 21,000 to the square mile, while Hudson County (New Jersey) has more than 16,000 to the square mile.

This problem of congestion, in turn, creates problems of housing and of transportation. One needs merely to travel through the congested areas of our large cities to secure a general impression of the dilapidated housing, and to ride on the street cars or elevated trains to learn how crowded the transportation lines are, especially during the rush hours of the morning and of the late afternoon.

Public Health. New and peculiar problems of health arise in the cities. While cities, because of their control of water, milk, and food, have lowered the death rates¹ from such diseases as typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet fever, and pulmonary tuberculosis, nevertheless it is true that the city people are faced with troublesome diseases of heart, respiratory tract, and nervous system arising from smoke, noise, monotonous work, and the high speed and tension with which city life operates. In fact, the death rates from various forms of heart disease, cerebral hemorrhage, diabetes, cancer, and accidents have increased rapidly since the beginning of the present century. The development of the city has also produced a decided increase in the number of insane persons, at least there are more of them being treated in institutions. Evidence of this is found in the increase of 110 per cent in the number of inmates in state hospitals for mental diseases between 1904 and 1929.

Land Values. Another problem of city life is the lack of control of real estate values together with the high rents which accompany increases in land values. This leads to the problem of zoning which many city folk have found advantageous in controlling the use of their property for residence purposes. The job of providing school, paved streets, sewers, and other public services constitutes another problem which arises from population's being urbanized. The rapid shifts in population often result in crowded schools or even in half-day sessions. Often public scandals, in the form of graft charges have arisen as the result of extensive public construction hurriedly done to meet the emergency of a rapidly expanding population.

Housing. With the rapid growth of population in urban centers has come the need for clean, sanitary, and inexpensive housing for

¹ See pp. 626-28 in *Recent Social Trends*.

the masses of people, located conveniently to places of employment. Most American cities have vast areas of poor housing, known as "shanty-towns," consisting of old, unsanitary structures which are fire traps of the worst kind. A survey made in 1934 of the housing conditions of sixty-four cities located in forty-eight states revealed that 8 per cent of the houses were without running water, that 9 per cent were without gas or electricity, that 17 per cent of them did not have indoor water closets, that 23 per cent did not have either bath tub or shower, and that 15 per cent of them were classified as crowded or overcrowded. Furthermore, according to this same study, 22 per cent of the houses were classified as "obsolete or in dangerous condition" while 15.5 per cent of the houses were characterized as being in need of "structural repairs"—to the roof, or foundation or walls—and that an additional 44.6 per cent of the houses were classified as needing minor repairs such as painting and papering. Only 37.8 per cent were classified as being in good condition. There are some persons who maintain that decent and inexpensive housing should be made available to citizens by the combined efforts of city, state, and federal governments. Secretary Ickes, late in 1934, spoke of a \$2,000,000,000 housing program, but one authority¹ suggests that at an average of \$3,000 per family for land and buildings the total cost to clean up the city slums would be more than \$13,000,000,000.

New Forms of Crime. Problems of congestion and problems of housing, together with deficient recreational facilities, contribute to the development of new and troublesome forms of crime. The children in the congested urban areas are not likely to feel the same restraints upon their conduct as do the children in the less congested areas. Children form gangs and these gangs in our cities, unless intelligently directed, are likely to engage in many forms of illegal and criminal behavior. The gang life of children often carries over into young manhood so that the modern city gangster is simply a person who has grown up in an environment in which he could scarcely avoid being the kind of person that he is. The gangster, the racketeer, and the dynamiter are products of urban life. Being held up, or being "taken for a ride," or "muscling in" are types of criminal behavior which are distinctively urban.

Different Forms of Wealth. The people of the cities possess

¹ See *The Survey* for January 1, 1935.

wealth in different forms from those of the open country. The people in the open country possess tangible property—land, houses, animals, and simple machines. These are visible things and it is difficult, if not impossible, to change their form or place them in hiding. On the other hand the people who live in the cities are not dependent upon things such as these for a living. They receive salaries, wages, or commissions for the work they do. Their wealth, if they have any, is not in visible things but in stocks and bonds, which can be easily hidden away. Instead of owning land on which crops can be produced, they are more likely to own a small portion of some great corporation.

As a consequence of this, the city people, like all other groups of citizens, want legislation which will protect their interests. Consequently they will be disposed to favor all kinds of social legislation (see Chapter 12), not because they are different, but because different influences compel them to seek the protection which various forms of social legislation give. The city people want the protection which comes from the proper production of milk and other produce. The non-urban people have been obliged, sometimes against their wishes, to produce their commodities in the interest of the health of the city consumers.

The Problem of Assessments. The problem of assessing property in our large cities is surrounded by difficulties. In the open country the chief sources of wealth are visible to the assessor and it is relatively easy for him to list a large percentage of the existing wealth. On the other hand, in the large cities, we find that little of some forms of property is listed on the assessment. Not only is there a failure to list some property, but we find that in many urban places there is a wide difference in the value placed upon two pieces of real estate which are as similar as two pieces of property can be. The man who lives in or near the open country is suspicious of the city dweller with respect to the completeness of his assessment and the rigor with which taxes are collected. The man of the city, being free to move from place to place much more readily than his country cousin, is more disposed by the nature of his location to avoid assessments and to evade taxes.

The Problem of Taxation. The question of an effective taxing system is one of the pressing problems for many of the state governments to settle (see Chapter 8). Because of the difference in the

kind of property owned by urbanites and ruralites, the people in the metropolitan areas are likely to entertain views on taxation which are different from the views of the people who live closer to the open country. The people in the open country and near to it are convinced that real estate and other forms of visible property are used as the basis for too large a part of the taxes which are collected. They want other sources of revenue. The informed persons among them claim that such taxes as the income tax, the tax on corporations, and the inheritance tax should be used as the sources from which the various aims of the government should derive a much larger share of their income than they now do.

The city people, on the other hand, want the tax system left as it is. Most of them are not owners of real estate and are quite willing to have the owners of real estate bear the chief burden of taxation, especially of those taxes for local government. The system suits them quite well, since the great majority of them pay little tax in any form. They do not want the forms of taxation which the non-urban people seek. Because of this deadlock between two groups of people, we find that many of the states are handicapped in performing the functions that they should execute. Appropriations to schools are too small, old age pensions are inadequate or do not exist, other phases of welfare work are neglected while comprehensive programs of recreation have not even been originated. Thus we can see how the government is handicapped in its work because of the inability of groups of people with different interests and different locations to unite on a workable plan of taxation.

Manufacturing and Agriculture. One must realize that the people who live in these cities have interests which are different from those who live in the other sections of the states of which these cities are a part. The people of the cities are dependent upon manufacturing and commercial life for an existence. The people of the other areas are farmers, tradesmen, and shopkeepers, who directly or indirectly depend upon agriculture for a living. This difference in vocation develops a difference in viewpoint between the two groups, often a difference in political party affiliation and frequently a clash over the questions of public policy. Cook County and down-state Illinois are usually in conflict on political questions. Even southern Illinois, known as "Egypt," with its general agriculture

and mining, has different interests from those of central Illinois where corn and hogs constitute the agricultural staples. The hill people of Pennsylvania and of other states crossed by the Appalachian plateau have different interests from those of the eastern cities and of the seaboard area. Not only are their interests different but they can be counted upon to vote a different party ticket in the elections. The remote sections of up-state New York are alien to the population of the city of New York, and the people of the metropolis are strange people when viewed from the position of the rural New Yorkers.

Types From Different Sections. The people in the urban areas are dominated by the tempo and speed of the large city. On the other hand, the people in the open country, except for their radio and newspaper contacts with the big cities, are more likely to depend upon the nearby town for trading and for the patterns of their lives. The urbanite often has too little knowledge of the way of life in the village and open country. He would have a hard time if he had to wrest his living from the soil. He is likely to look upon the rural citizen as a "rube" or a "hick." On the other hand the ruralite is likely to know too little about the city and to have too little understanding of the people who live there. Each group seems to be isolated from the other, not only in space but also in the estimates which they make of one another. The urbanites are more cosmopolitan than the people who live in the open country. Protestant, Catholic, Jew, native-born and foreign-born seem to mingle more freely in the city than in the country. The Catholic population is predominantly urban. This is also true of the Jews and of the foreign-born. The difference in interests between native-born and foreign-born as well as between Protestants and Catholics increases the conflict between rural and urban people.

Minority Peoples in Cities. We find that the minority peoples—Negroes, Jews, and foreign-born—tend to congregate in metropolitan areas. In 1930, 90 per cent of the foreign-born Austrians, 90 per cent of the foreign-born Russians, and 76 per cent of the foreign-born Irish of New York State lived in New York City. In Illinois, at the same time, 94 per cent of the Russians, 90 per cent of the Poles, and 80 per cent of the Irish of the state lived in Cook County. In Cook County there are more people of German birth (131,418) than the total population of Peoria and almost

enough Poles to make twice the population of Gary. In New York City there are many more Italians of foreign birth than there are people in Rochester, as many Austrians as there are people in Albany, while the number of Germans and Russians combined is far in excess of the number of people in Buffalo. With the Negroes the same condition prevails in the northern states. In 1930, 79 per cent of the Negroes of New York State lived in New York City, 74 per cent of the Negroes of Illinois lived in Cook County, and 70 per cent of the Negroes of Pennsylvania lived in Philadelphia and Allegheny counties. The Negroes of New York City (327,706) constitute a population of sufficient size to make a large city.

Areas of Isolation. These various groups of people tend to concentrate in racial or nationalistic islands. In New York the Negroes are concentrated to a considerable degree in Harlem, in Chicago they are located in the "Black Belt," a long, narrow zone extending through the south side of Chicago for nearly sixty blocks. This concentration tends to make the members of the group conscious of their numbers and of their influence, particularly their political influence. As a result, we find the minority peoples exercising strong influence in the political life of many of the states.

Non-Voting. Problems of government arise in new and difficult forms as the result of urbanization. A decline in voting and an apparent decline in an interest in government seem to have developed with the shift cityward. As people become urbanized they seem to lose interest in the problems of government and in the affairs of their community. The result is non-voting, graft in government, and boss-ridden urban government, evidence of all of which can be found in many of the larger cities of our country (see Chapter 5).

The Problem of Representation. The most troublesome of the problems existing between city population and the population of the open country is that which arises from the apportionment of representation. New York City, with 55 per cent of the state's population, elects approximately 42 per cent of the members of the state legislature. The up-state area of New York not only has more representation than its part of the population entitles it to have, but we find striking inequalities of representation among the different areas of the metropolis itself, as shown in the following table.

	Total Popu- lation 1930	Number of Assembly Districts	Population per Assembly District
Manhattan . .	1,867,312	23	81,187
Brooklyn	2,560,401	23	111,322
Bronx .	1,265,258	8	158,157
Queens	1,070,120	6	179,855
Richmond	158,346	2	79,173

The above table suggests that the seats in the legislature should be reassigned frequently, at least with the taking of each census. The average number of persons living in an assembly district in Queens is considerably more than twice the number living in Manhattan assembly districts, and the average number for the Bronx is almost twice as large as that of Manhattan.

It is rather striking to observe that one assembly district in Brooklyn has in it more than 300,000 people and three others have more than 200,000 each. On the other hand some up-state assembly districts¹ have in them approximately one-tenth as many people as some of the city districts. In Illinois, Cook County is allowed nineteen of the fifty-one seats in the Senate, while according to her population the county should have twenty-six members in the Senate. In Pennsylvania there are eleven counties, each with less than 20,000 population, yet each of these counties is entitled, according to the state constitution, to one representative in the legislature. If the seats in the House of Representatives in the Pennsylvania legislature were apportioned according to population there would be one representative for approximately 45,000 residents. Obviously the counties which do not have 45,000 population have far more representation than their numbers entitle them to have. Similar problems exist in Connecticut, in Rhode Island, and in almost every political unit which has experienced a shift in population.

Solution of the Representation Problem. There is no doubt that this problem of representation needs solution. It is obvious that the urban people do not have the amount of representation to which, on the basis of numbers, they are entitled. On the other hand the rural landowners think they have interests in property

¹In 1930 Lewis County had 23,447 people, Seneca County had 24,983 and Tioga County had 25,480 population. Each of these counties constituted an assembly district.

which must be protected and are not willing to give up any of the representation which they now have. What solution could be reached? Should seats in both houses of the legislature be apportioned according to population? Many people think so. Or, should any scheme of apportioning representation take into consideration the property element? The constitutional convention in Illinois in 1922 attempted to solve this problem of reapportioning seats in the legislature by assigning seats in the House on the basis of population and in the Senate by giving one-third of the seats to Cook County and two-thirds to down-state counties. The constitution was not ratified by the people, but it offered one solution to the question. In New York agitation has been on foot for many years to reassign seats in the legislature, but no proposal has been made which seems to satisfy the people who live up-state and also those who live in New York City.

Problems of Home Rule. The large cities are usually in open conflict with the state government on some policies on which the city population is determined to acquire control while the state government is determined to retain control. The conflicts arise from such questions as the control of public transportation, the control of the sale of liquor, the state's supervision over the city's indebtedness, the state limitation on the local taxing authority, the limitation placed upon the municipalities in the location of state highways, and many other problems. As a result of one or more of these questions, Chicago wants a larger measure of freedom from the government at Springfield, New York wants less interference from Albany, the Ohio cities want less restraint placed upon them at Columbus. Philadelphia struggled for years to secure a modern charter which would grant it a semblance of home rule.

As cities become more populous their citizens commence to demand greater freedom from control by the state government. It is difficult to say what the solution of this problem should be. Maybe the larger cities and their environs should be elected into city states, with authority for self-government. A solution might be achieved if the charters of large cities could be modernized frequently so that the city governments would have freedom to work out their own problems unhampered by the state legislatures.

Efficient Administration in Cities. We know that the per capita cost of running a large city is greater than that of a small city

This is due to the fact that the larger city provides more services for the citizens. It is also due, in some degree, to the vastness of the city's administration and the natural waste and extravagance which accompanies such size. The people in the smaller cities and towns, because they do not have many expensive services which the large city provides, are convinced that there is much dishonesty in the administration of the government of large cities. They insist, therefore, that the state should exercise close supervision over the cities and should not let them have too much authority. The people in the large cities, on the other hand, are convinced that their governments would be more efficiently managed if they were given greater freedom by the state to operate. When we learn of extensive graft in connection with the government of the large cities, we are disposed to ask whether it is inherent in the large cities or whether, because of the size of the city, greater publicity is given to the dishonest administration.

Machine Rule in Cities. The people who live outside the great metropolitan areas are impressed by the strength and influence of the political machines in our large cities. They deplore the control of New York City politics by Tammany Hall, of Philadelphia by the Vane organization, of Chicago by one of several political machines, and of Kansas City by the Piendergast machine. They know too that Cincinnati, Cleveland, and San Francisco are other cities which have been noted for their effectively organized political machines. In the minds of the non-urban dwellers the big cities are infested with machine politics and boss rule. The city dweller, on the other hand, is not so likely to become excited about the machine and boss rule.

Some of us fail to see that the political machine has many more opportunities and occasions for operating in the large city than it has in the less urbanized areas. Furthermore, the country or village dweller is not likely to detect the operation of bosses in his county. The operation of local bosses in the smaller communities is often obscured by the publicity which is given to the big bosses in the big cities.

Interference with Personal Liberty. The people in the urban areas have been less disposed to interfere with the individual in his private life than have the people in the open country. City

people, because of the nature of the place in which they live, care less than do non-urbanized people about forming acquaintances with the people who live near them. They are disposed also to care less about the conduct of these people. As a result of this condition we find that the forces for the prohibition of alcoholic beverages have been recruited largely from the rural areas. The same can be claimed for the regulations governing the observance of the Sabbath. City dwellers have ignored Sunday observance much more than the persons in the small towns and the open country. The Blue Laws, providing for strict Sunday observance, which existed in Massachusetts and in Pennsylvania until recent years, are a definite hold-over from the era when the population of those states was largely rural and when large cities were unknown.

THE POPULATION MOVES OUTWARD

The Relocation of People Another problem of great importance in modern cities is the constant relocation of people. People move about and we find that the tendency is to move away from the central business district of the city. Suburbs develop because high speed transit facilities are provided and people are willing to spend a considerable part of each working day in commuting to and from their place of employment. This recession of population from the central portions of the city can be illustrated by the shifts in almost any metropolitan area. Illustrations from Philadelphia, from New York, and from Chicago will be sufficient.

Between 1920 and 1930, thirty-four of Philadelphia's forty-eight wards declined in population. A few of the wards on the edge of the city increased remarkably. Furthermore, the counties in Philadelphia's suburban area increased decidedly. The table below shows the rather slight increase in Philadelphia's population and the extensive increase in the population of three suburban counties.

	Philadelphia	Montgomery	Delaware	Camden, N. J.
1920	1,823,779	199,310	173,084	190,508
1930	1,950,961	265,804	280,264	252,312

The increase for Philadelphia was 7 per cent while the increase of the three suburban counties combined was 42 per cent.

The relocation of people in New York City is even more striking

FLEXIBLE GOVERNMENT

The table below will show the decided decline in Manhattan, the central business district, and the rapid increase in other boroughs.

	New York	Manhattan	Bronx
1920	5,620,048	2,284,103	732,016
1930	6,930,446	1,867,312	1,265,258
	Brooklyn	Queens	Richmond
1920	2,018,356	469,042	116,531
1930	2,560,401	1,079,129	158,346

In Chicago as well as in other cities we have adequate proof of the fact that the population is declining in the areas nearest to the central business district while it has increased rapidly in the sections which are six to twelve miles from the center of the city. One of the troublesome problems of city life arises from the movement of people from the central section of the city to the outlying areas.

Decentralizing Cities. It is clear that the central sections of our cities have been declining in population. However, the population of the total metropolitan areas has been increasing. The question arises as to whether the population of these areas might actually decline, or at least become stationary. If the population declines, places must be found to which the people can migrate. They might move to the open country, where new locations may be found in smaller cities and towns, or in new towns built around some industries which have moved from the large cities. It is conceivable that many persons might move to the open country and maintain themselves on subsistence homesteads. However, there is little or no evidence to show that the metropolitan areas are declining in population. In fact, the opposite seems to be true.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. Define the terms rural and urban as used in the United States census. What other means are there of classifying rural and urban conditions?
2. What shift has taken place in population during recent decades?
3. What have been the reasons for this shift?
4. What percentage of our population lives in cities of 8,000 or more? In cities of 100,000 or more?
5. Compare the population of some of our most populous counties and

- cities with that of the less populous states. What does this indicate about the concentration of population?
- 6 What effect upon our political and social life does the location of large centers of population have upon states that are largely rural? List several states that face this difference of interest
 - 7 Comment upon the concentration of population along deep water. What has been the growth of deep water cities compared with that of inland or river cities?
 - 8 What problems are caused by congestion of population?
 - 9 What has been the effect on health of crowded urban conditions?
 - 10 How have rapid shifts in population made for instability in land values? What has been attempted to offset this condition?
 - 11 What did the survey of housing conditions made in 1934 reveal concerning the living conditions of the cities surveyed?
 - 12 Contrast the amount of tangible wealth owned by urban dwellers with that of the people in rural areas. How does this difference affect the political ideas held by the two groups?
 - 13 Does the problem of assessment differ in the city from that in the country?
 - 14 How does the rural man differ from the city dweller on the question of taxation?
 - 15 How does the difference in vocations make for different viewpoints on public questions between city and rural districts?
 - 16 Explain the statement that the "urbanites are more cosmopolitan than the rural population"
 - 17 What problems are caused by the presence of large numbers of minority peoples living in cities? How does the number of these people in cities compare with the number of them in rural areas? What influence have minority peoples had on the political life of the city and state in which they live?
 - 18 Why is the problem of representation in state government an important one in states where there are large areas of urban population? Discuss this problem. What can you suggest as a possible solution?
 - 19 What population movement has been taking place within cities and their metropolitan districts within the last few years? Illustrate this from New York and Philadelphia

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Should cities like New York and Chicago be erected into city states? If so, where would you fix the boundaries?
- 2 What reasons are there for assuming that the political machine operates more successfully in the city than in the open country and small towns?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Consult the census reports on population for your state covering a thirty or sixty year period. Is the percentage of urbanized population increasing? If so, how much? Is the number of persons engaged in agriculture increasing or decreasing? Is the percentage of the total population increasing or decreasing? What about other nearby states?
- 2 How many counties in your state declined in population between 1920 and 1930? Which counties experienced decided increases in population? Explain this. How many counties are there in your state which had fewer people in 1930 than in 1900, or in 1870? What percentage of the state's population lives in a small number of counties in one or more of the congested areas of the state?
- 3 In your state are there any conflicts in politics between large urban centers on one hand and the state as a whole on the other? If there are any such conflicts report on them to the class, giving causes and the problems over which the dispute rages. Are there any political conflicts between sectional interests in your state? Is there a North and a South? An East and a West? In what, if anything, do sections compete? Do personal ambitions contribute to the conflicts?
- 4 To what extent does your own city illustrate rapid growth in population and the resulting problems of housing, congested areas, transportation difficulties, problems of public health, corrupt politics, lack of understanding between citizens of your city and the rural areas of the state, and kindred difficulties discussed in this chapter?

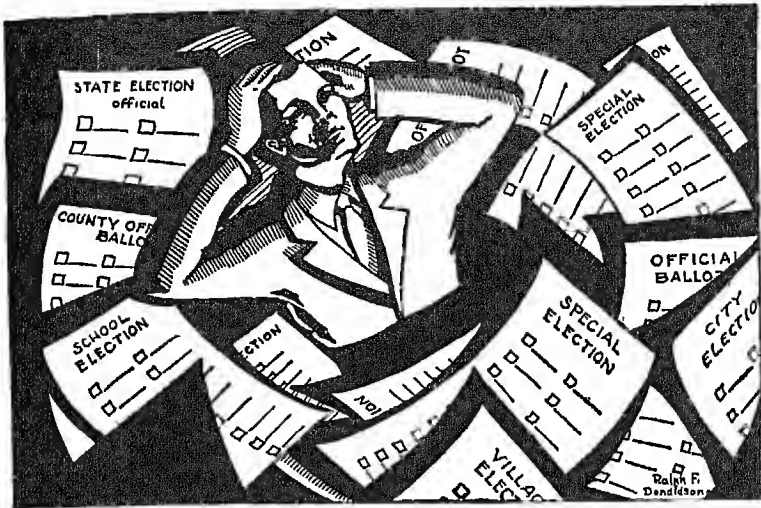
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Chapter 17 GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To show that there are too many units of government
- 2 To demonstrate how the excessive number of units results in inefficient government
- 3 To illustrate how consolidation of government units has been effected in some areas and how it is needed in many others

WITHIN the United States we have many units of local government. The federal government embraces the entire country, together with the outlying territories. The District of Columbia and the states give us forty-nine additional governments. Then there are more than 3,000 counties together with thousands of cities, boroughs, incorporated villages, and towns. There are drainage districts, school districts, sanitary districts, poor relief districts, park districts, and regional authorities. States are divided into counties, counties into townships, and it is staggering to note that each of these governmental units¹ has authority to levy taxes and its acts, quite commonly, are not subject to review by any other political authority.

¹There are more than 18,000 taxing authorities in Illinois, two-thirds of these being school districts. There are approximately 175,000 separate taxing authorities in the United States.

TOO MANY UNITS OF GOVERNMENT

Many Counties with Few People It will be well, since we examined the nature of the county government in Chapter 5, for us to look at the large number of counties which exist in the several states. The surprising fact about many of these counties is that they have few people in them. Counties exist in some cases, maintaining a system of government with courts, poor relief, a taxing system, and county officers in a courthouse, when the county does not have 5,000 people. These counties are rural, and it is easy to see from the discussion of the problem in the preceding chapter that some of them will continue to decline in population. The table which follows shows the large number of counties in a few states which had small populations by the 1930 census.

State	Number of Counties	Number of Counties Having Fewer Than 20,000 Residents
Texas	254	171
Georgia .	161	119
Virginia .	100	67
Illinois	102	43
Indiana	92	44
Ohio	88	13
Pennsylvania	67	11
New York	62	4

It is somewhat surprising, no doubt, to find that more than half of the counties of Texas, Georgia, and Virginia, and almost half of them in Illinois and Indiana have fewer than 20,000 people. Even in populous states like New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio we find some counties with amazingly small populations. If we chose all states west of the Mississippi River for our examples we would find a large percentage of the counties had fewer than 20,000 people in them. While this population limit of 20,000 is chosen arbitrarily, it seems reasonable to assume that in most states with modern means of transportation and communication few or no counties should exist with less than that number of people. However, in Virginia there are thirty-two counties each of which has fewer than 10,000 inhabitants. Georgia has nine counties each of which has fewer than 5,000 residents. In Pennsylvania there are twenty-five counties

each with fewer than 50,000 residents, and in New York there are twenty-nine counties with fewer than that number. From this it should be clear that we have too many counties in the United States. The population has declined in these counties and has moved to the urban centers. In spite of this sparse population the county boundaries continue in existence together with the county governments. This is not only costly and inefficient, but it results in a poor type of service for the citizens.

Reasons for Many Small Counties. There are several reasons why we have many counties with small populations. We remember, from the preceding chapter, that some counties have been declining in population for the last half century or more. Again, it is important to note that automobiles have come into general use largely since the World War and that railroads developed almost entirely after the Civil War. The absence of these two forms of transportation compelled persons in the earlier history of our country when traveling to the county courthouse to go on horseback or in carriage. With these slow forms of transportation people wanted to have the seat of their county government as near to them as possible, usually within a day's travel by horse and carriage. Consequently, they often petitioned their legislature for the division of the larger counties into two or more counties. As a result we have many counties in existence today which were no doubt needed at one time but which we really do not need now. With the use of the automobile on improved roads the population of our country could function with as much convenience, at less cost, and with improved service, if we had one-half or even one-third as many counties as are now in existence.

The Need for Fewer Counties. The cost of maintaining so many county governments is naturally very high per capita for a type of service which is inferior in many ways to that available in the larger counties. Some offices in many of the county courthouses could transact all of their business in one working day of each week. By combining several small counties it is certain that economies could be effected and a better type of public service could be rendered. This is especially true since so many jobs done by the county governments require the aid of experts to do them efficiently. The building of roads and bridges by modern methods, the supervision of schools, the providing of relief for the poor, and the establishing

of parks, hospitals, and sanitariums are among the many jobs which county governments do. The county government with a small population cannot do these things well, even if it attempts to do them. Intelligent action in our state legislatures should dictate the abolition of many counties in many states. The Hearst papers of Chicago have carried on a program to reduce the number of counties in Illinois from 102 to 6. Certainly this is too sweeping a change, especially since the county government should be continued in many of the present county seats of considerable size, but it is evident that something must be done to reduce the number of county units. Of course there will be opposition to the consolidation of counties. There will be opposition on grounds of sentiment and also because the business men of many county seat towns might suffer if the county business were removed from their town. The reorganization of county government and the relocation of county boundaries constitutes one of the major problems of governmental reorganization.

Too Many Townships. While we are considering the possibility of combining counties we might also consider the advisability of abolishing townships. The township is too small a unit of government for the satisfactory establishment of schools, for building roads, for administering relief to the poor, or for performing other public functions to good advantage. There are many good reasons for contending that the county, especially in rural areas, should be the smallest administrative unit of government. The best reason that can be given for this position is that the functions once performed by the townships are slowly being absorbed by the county and by the state governments.

Many School Units. We have in the United States an immense number of units for the operation of the public schools. In some instances these units are towns or cities, in other cases they are counties or townships, in other instances they consist of separate and independent districts which have been created in large numbers in each of the counties. Pennsylvania is an illustration of the use of the township for administering schools, while Illinois is an unfortunate example of the system by which we have carved the state into thousands of school districts. In each instance the number of school districts is excessive. The table¹ below shows the rela-

¹ U. S. Department of Interior, Office of Education, *Pamphlet No. 45*, 1933, p. 24.

tionship of the large number of school units to the average number of teachers in each unit In Cook County outside of Chicago there

State	Number of Administrative Units	Average Number of Units per County	Average Number of Teaching Positions per Unit
Pennsylvania	2,587	38	22
Illinois	12,070	118	4

are more than 200 school authorities, each independent of the other, with more than 1,000 persons officially responsible for the determination of school policies Some states have improved the administration of their schools by reducing the number of school districts This has been done quite effectively in the New England states as is shown in the next table where the number of school districts is recorded.

	1848	1932
Maine	3,580	518
New Hampshire	1,880	244
Vermont	2,276	94
Massachusetts	3,475	355
Connecticut	1,663	161
Rhode Island	332	39
Totals	13,214	1,411

SOLUTION BY CONSOLIDATION

Plans for Fewer Districts. For years people interested in the administration of schools have been urging legislatures to pass laws which would make it possible to have fewer school districts We could have fewer school districts, and doubtless better managed ones, if we used the county as the unit for administration rather than the township, or town, or independent district If we used the county as the unit the school affairs could be managed by a county board whose duty it would be, no doubt, to determine policies and to select a county superintendent of schools If the county had in it cities and towns of some size, maybe of 5,000 people or more, it might be possible to give such settlements or incorporated places jurisdiction over their school affairs If the citizens through their chosen representatives in the legislature should not care for the county plan,

they could develop some other plan whereby single districts or even townships could be combined to form larger units. This is often done when rural schools are consolidated.

Reasons for Fewer Units. There are many good reasons why school districts should be enlarged. Already a considerable number of states have their schools administered with the county as a unit and find the plan successful. Any plans of enlarging the school unit would tend to discourage the further operation of the one-room school, of which we have more than 140,000 in the United States, about 10,000 in Illinois and about 7,000 in Kansas, many of which have few pupils and few of which really have the facilities for doing good school work. A larger school unit would encourage the employment of better trained teachers and better school employees. There could be better school buildings, better equipment, and a more varied curriculum. These and other advantages would provide schools superior to those which we now have, at no greater cost than our present system.

Equalization of Opportunity. The chief advantage to be derived from the larger school units arises from an equalization of opportunity to secure an education regardless of the place in which one lives. In many school districts children are deprived of an opportunity to attend a good school. This is due to the fact that there is great inequality of wealth in the different districts from which sufficient taxes for school purposes can be collected. A few illustrations of this will make the situation clear. In Illinois in 1929 the assessed valuation of property per child of school age ranged from \$8,100 in one county to \$1,400 in another. In assessed valuation per elementary teacher the averages ranged from \$75,000 in one county to \$402,000 in another. In small school districts the assessed valuation of property per teacher ranged from \$17,450 in the poorest district of the state to \$4,859,000 in the district of greatest wealth. The same condition prevails to some degree in almost every state. In Indiana the taxable wealth per pupil in the different districts ranged from \$650 to \$39,000, in Iowa from \$3,575 to \$325,000, in New York from \$1,377 to \$71,000 and in North Carolina from \$1,684 to \$8,488.

This shows that the rich districts are able, with only a small tax rate, to raise large sums for schools, while the poor districts, even though they have a high tax rate, are able to raise only small sums.

for school purposes. The result is that even in prosperous times the school districts with small incomes have exceedingly poor schools—poor buildings, poor equipment, and poorly paid teachers. Even before the depression came upon us there were many teachers employed in such districts for \$60, and often \$50, and sometimes \$40 or less each school month. The solution to this problem can be reached by either or by both of two ways. One method is that of enlarging the school district so that areas of great wealth and areas of limited wealth can be included in one taxing unit. The other method consists of using large appropriations from the state governments and from the federal government to supplement the funds of the poorer districts. This can be done by appropriating a fixed sum for the employment of an adequately qualified teacher or by providing a sum for each pupil in attendance at school. Either or both of these methods have been employed in different states (see *Giants-in-Aid* in Chapter 18).

CONSOLIDATION OF MUNICIPALITIES

Metropolitan Areas. There are many people who believe that the population which is located near to large cities should, in some way, be associated with the population of the city itself in working out many problems of society and government. It is true that the population of the smaller towns and cities could not, in all cases, be joined to the larger city. While Gary, Indiana, is a part of Chicago's metropolitan area, and while Hoboken, New Jersey, is a part of the New York area, and while Camden, New Jersey, is part of the Philadelphia area, nevertheless, because of state lines, it might be politically impossible to merge the smaller cities into the larger ones. Furthermore, it is questionable as to whether such enlargements of our already large cities would do much to solve our urban problems. In fact, there is good reason to believe that many of our large cities, if efficient government is to be attained, are now too large. The solution can probably be reached to best advantage, not so much by making the present units larger as by eliminating the unnecessary administrative machinery. If city governments were properly organized and operated there would be no need for special districts—park districts, sanitary districts, and for-

est preserves These functions could be performed by municipal or by county governments

However, it is certain that something should be done by all of the independent municipal governments in a given metropolitan area to solve their joint problems of transportation and traffic control, of police and fire protection, of the location of industries, of water supply, of sewage disposal, of tax assessments, of gas and light supply, of parks, playgrounds, and other recreational problems, together with all other problems in which there is a common interest That this will require an extensive amount of co-operation by many units of city government is revealed in the following table¹ which gives the number of incorporated towns and cities which, by the 1930 census, lie within a number of metropolitan areas of the United States

New York	272	Boston	80
Pittsburgh	135	Los Angeles	56
Chicago	115	St. Louis	48
Philadelphia	92	Cincinnati	44

This means that in order to have the most complete and perfect co-operation in any civic enterprise in the New York area it would be necessary to enlist the interest and activity of almost 300 separate municipal governments, while in the Pittsburgh area the co-operation of 135 separate units of city government would be required There is need for unification of governmental units in providing such services as police protection, fire protection, water supply, and sewage disposal These are services which should not end at the boundaries of one city, but should be unified or co-ordinated in such a way that costs could be reduced and service could be improved This is all the more important when we consider that the vast majority of these towns in the metropolitan areas are quite small For example, of the 272 towns and cities in the New York area, 210 of them had populations of less than 10,000 each Of the 135 in the Pittsburgh area 106 fell in the class of having less than 10,000 population Of the 115 municipalities in the Chicago area 90 of them have less than 10,000 population However, each of these large cities has in its metropolitan area a number of cities of considerable size, each of which, standing alone, would be a large city New York has Jersey City (316,715), Hoboken (59,261), and many

¹ *Recent Social Trends*, p. 448

others Philadelphia has Camden (118,700) while Chicago has Cicero (66,602), Oak Park (63,982), Evanston (63,338), Berwyn (47,027), and others St. Louis has a large number of satellite towns adjacent to it. Among them are University City (25,809), Webster Groves (16,487), Clayton (9,613), and Richmond Heights (9,150). Within the metropolitan area of St. Louis, but lying in Illinois, are to be found at least a dozen incorporated towns and cities, the largest being East St. Louis (74,347).

Small Metropolitan Areas While the metropolitan areas seem to be impressive when we consider such centers as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and St. Louis, they are equally important as they apply to smaller cities located in counties which ordinarily are considered rural and agricultural. McLean County, Illinois, in the heart of the corn belt of that state, and in the center of one of the rich agricultural areas of the United States, had a population in 1930 of 73,117. Of this number, 51.5 per cent of the county's population lives in two cities—Bloomington and Normal. While these cities are separated by nothing except the middle of a street, nevertheless they have separate governments with separate police and fire protection together with separate water systems and other services. Champaign and Urbana, Illinois, with populations respectively of 20,348 and 13,060, even without some 8,000 or 10,000 students who attend the State University located there, comprise another small metropolitan area. These small cities, in another rich agricultural county, have within them 52 per cent of the county's population. Two governments are in existence for the two cities, with two sets of services provided for the two groups of citizens. York, Pennsylvania, with 55,254 residents has two boroughs directly adjacent to the city—North York with 2,416 people and West York with 5,381 inhabitants. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, with a population of 80,339, is the center of a metropolitan area of which Steelton with 13,291, Lemoyne with 4,171, and Camp Hill with 3,111 residents are a part. Wilkes-Barre and Scranton with 86,626 and 143,433 population respectively are the centers of a metropolitan area in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania which has in it at least 600,000 people and extends over a score or more of incorporated places, all of which have problems in common awaiting a common solution. The concentration of population on the Mississippi River in Davenport (60,751), Rock Island (37,953), Moline (32,236),

and East Moline (10,107) furnishes a metropolitan area of at least 150,000 people extending into portions of two states. St. Joseph, Michigan (8,349), is adjacent to Benton Harbor (15,434). There are many of these small metropolitian areas. The unnecessarily large number of separate governments in them constitutes a problem of immense proportions for the American citizens. Their problems of budgets, of planning, and of all municipal services invite a common solution, either by way of unifying the government units or by way of regional co-operation.

Useless Governmental Units. It is reasonable to assume that some of these many units of city government could be combined into fewer units. Since 1910 Los Angeles has increased its area from 100 to more than 400 square miles, while Detroit, in the same time, has expanded from 40 to about 140 square miles. The many cities and towns in northern New Jersey could profitably be reduced in number in the interests of economy and better service. The same can be claimed for the large number of satellite towns and cities near to any of our large cities. However, mere bigness in cities may not be and probably is not desirable. Certainly it is true that the per capita cost of local government rises as the city becomes larger. Rather than enlarge the already large cities it might be better if the separate units in the metropolitan area solve their common problems not so much by consolidation as by regional planning and co-ordination.

It is important when the consolidation of governments takes place that the old governments be abolished. In New York the several boroughs were combined in 1898 to form Greater New York. With the combination a Mayor was chosen for the entire city, but the separate borough governments were retained, with each having a Borough President. One has difficulty in justifying the existence of separate boroughs and separate counties in New York City. Similarly in Philadelphia, as that city outgrew and overflowed the boundaries of Philadelphia County, the people continued to retain the county government. A similar illustration can be chosen for Chicago and its environs of Cook County. In this large metropolitan county there is an extensive duplication of governmental activity as represented in more than 400 separate taxing authorities, with more than 600 different tax levies which the taxing authorities attempt to raise. In the metropolitan region of Chicago there are more than

1,600 government units—counties, townships, cities, villages, school districts, park districts, sanitary districts, drainage districts, forest preserve districts, and even mosquito abatement districts. For those people who contend that we have too much government and that government interferes too much with the individual, the answer is that *we have too many government units, not too much government service*. Metropolitan areas need unification of such services as water supply, police protection, fire protection, sewage disposal, and the unified control of such knotty problems as zoning, planning, and transportation.

There are several advantages which would accrue from the consolidation of these many urban governments into fewer units of administration. While it is not easy to set up reliable estimates of the savings which might be effected, it is certain that extensive reductions could be made in the cost of maintaining the government. At the same time, the services rendered would be of a quality comparable to those now rendered, if they would not be far superior. Furthermore, with fewer units of government and with authority more centralized it would be much easier than it now is for the citizen to watch the operation of the government with a view to securing efficient and honest service.

SOLUTION THROUGH REGIONAL AUTHORITIES

Efforts at Consolidation. There is some encouragement in the fact that citizens are becoming aware of the complicated situation in many communities. However, opinion is not being developed rapidly enough to overcome the increasing complexity arising from the large number of taxing bodies, especially in the metropolitan areas. Some slight efforts have been made to reduce the number of taxing bodies and with more information and enlightenment on the question the citizens will be able to formulate a definite opinion on the subject. Franklin Roosevelt, when Governor of New York, began a movement to reduce the number of taxing authorities and governmental units in that state. The Hearst papers in Chicago have carried on a program of agitation to encourage a consolidation of government units in that metropolitan area. The people interested in school finances in Pennsylvania have promoted a plan which was

not adopted but which provided for a reduction in the number of school districts from 2,587 to about 300.

Proposals of this kind to consolidate are usually opposed on grounds of sentiment and tradition and often because of local jealousies. Then too the people of the smaller towns often do not want to join with the larger city for fear that their identity might be lost, their taxes might be higher, or the services rendered might not be as good as the ones they now enjoy. The public officials usually oppose the action because consolidation would combine jobs with the result that some persons on the public payroll would be removed.

Regions and Regionalism. It is clear that political boundaries have been set up arbitrarily and that the boundaries of the social unit are different from the boundaries of the political unit. The metropolitan area of New York extends into portions of three states and the same can be said of the metropolitan area of Chicago. The region about St. Louis, advertised as the "Forty-ninth State," extends into at least five states, while the Philadelphia region extends into portions of three states. The Twin Cities (St. Paul and Minneapolis) are the center of a great trade area which extends into the Dakotas, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Spokane, in eastern Washington, is the center of the "Inland Empire," a trade area which extends over portions of four states. Atlanta claims to be the trade center for an immense population covering portions of several states. Trade areas cut across state and county lines to such an extent that we are caused to wonder if more governmental functions should not be performed by regions rather than by the present political units. In the future we shall doubtless see many governmental units within a given region organized in some way to promote a better mastery of certain problems which organized government must solve. At the present time these regional organizations are not numerous but there are a few that have significant achievements to their credit.

Port Authority of New York. One of the best known regional governmental organizations is the Authority of the Port of New York. This body was created in 1921 by the action of the New York and the New Jersey legislatures. Due to the fact that the Authority hoped to control some interstate commerce, legal approval to the venture was secured from the federal government.

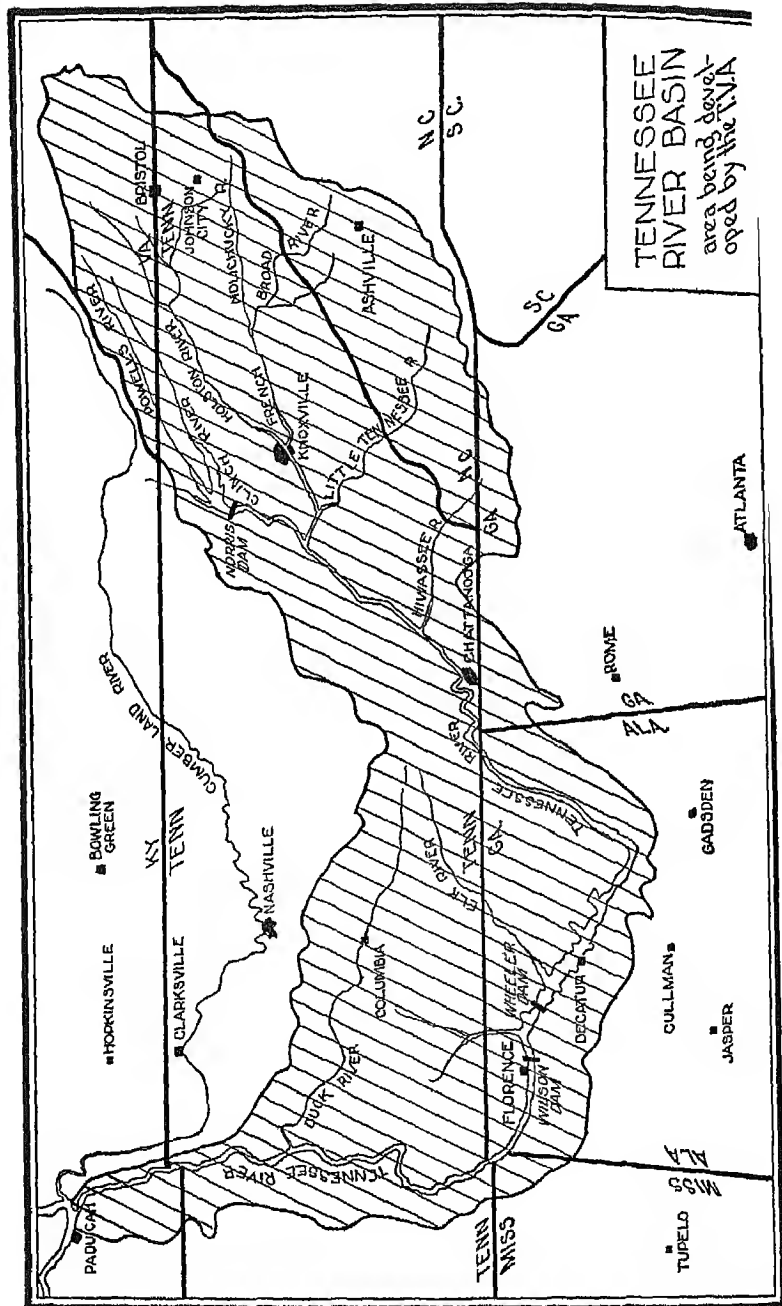
The Authority operates over an area of some 1,500 square miles and affects a population of approximately 11,000,000 people

The Port Authority was created to study and to solve problems arising out of the New York harbor situation to which both New Jersey and New York cities had access. Investigations were made of problems of transportation, both railroad and water, together with a study of food distribution and markets. Special studies were made of the transportation of ice, grain, and building materials, together with an intensive study of railroad transportation with a view to minimizing the amount of cross hauling. These and many other studies were made in order to arrive at a solution of the movement of goods and people in a highly congested metropolitan area.

The Port Authority further studied the problem of constructing bridges and set about to construct several bridges across the waters of New York harbor. The most notable of these projects was the great suspension bridge across the Hudson River from Washington Heights to the Palisades. Probably the best known and most used piece of work which the Port Authority completed was the Holland Vehicular Tunnel from Manhattan to Jersey City. This remarkable engineering project, constructed under the Hudson River, was paid for from bonds issued by this interstate Authority, the bonds to be retired from the proceeds of the tolls collected. The Port Authority is now completing another vehicular tunnel under the Hudson from mid-town New York to the Jersey side.

The Sanitary District of Chicago constitutes another excellent illustration of how smaller political units can be combined to perform a function necessary to all urban life—in this case the disposal of sewage. Established in 1889, the District now extends over fifty municipalities and other units of government, covering an area of several hundred square miles and affecting the lives of more than 4,000,000 people.

The Tennessee Valley Authority. Among the many interesting features of the Roosevelt Administration when it came into office in 1933 was the creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, headed by Arthur E. Morgan, a distinguished engineer and educator. The purpose of this organization was to study the possibilities for developing the Tennessee Valley, not only for new types of industry but also for attractive living conditions. The control of floods, the



production of low cost electricity for use in industry and in homes, the reduction of soil erosion, and the promotion of better housing are some of the many things which the Tennessee Valley Authority expects to achieve. It is really an experiment to demonstrate how a large area, located in many political units, can be welded into a unit of operation. The Authority covers more than 40,000 square miles, including portions of seven states. In addition to the T V A the federal government, under the direction of Harold L. Ickes, the Secretary of Interior, created the Mississippi Valley Committee¹ late in 1933, consisting of distinguished engineers, geologists, and forestry experts. The purpose of this organization was to study the Mississippi Valley, which extends into twenty-seven states and includes a population of 49,000,000 people, with a view to determining governmental policies for soil erosion, forestation, flood control, agriculture, navigation of streams, and power resources. The work of the Mississippi Valley Committee has been co-ordinated with that of the National Resources Board—a national planning body with authority to recommend to the federal government solutions for a variety of pressing problems dealing with the planned use of the resources of the nation.

The material of this chapter should make clear that one of the outstanding problems of modern government arises from the great variety of governments which are in existence, together with the added problem of how the large number could be reduced with an accompanying increase in the efficiency with which they do their work. The problem is not one of reducing the amount of work which government does, but one of improving the machinery of government with which the work can be done.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 Why does the existence of thousands of separate governments in the United States constitute a serious problem?
- 2 Why is it that we now have so many small counties?
- 3 What advantages would there be in reducing the number of counties by consolidation?
- 4 What are the reasons for considering the abolishment of townships?

¹ See *The Survey*, 23 53-59, February 1, 1934

- 5 What has been done to reduce the number of school units? Why is school consolidation an important step in acquiring efficiency in government? Why is it fairer to the pupils and the taxpayers?
- 6 Why is it almost impossible for people in metropolitan areas to achieve co-operation on matters concerning the whole area?
- 7 Give illustrations of small metropolitan areas in which group co-operation is almost impossible because of the presence of two or more separate municipal governments?
- 8 Why is it essential that these small separate metropolitan districts either consolidate or develop a regional planning board to co-ordinate their efforts in solving common problems? Discuss fully
- 9 What are the advantages to be secured from the consolidation of the numerous units in the large metropolitan areas?
- 10 What efforts have been made to reduce the number of taxing units in New York State and in Chicago?
- 11 Upon what grounds are movements to consolidate often opposed?
- 12 Explain the fact that the social unit is often different from the political unit. Cite examples. Would it be better to re-define political boundaries in terms of social units? Explain
- 13 Explain the work of the Port Authority of New York. Why does this and the Chicago Sanitary District furnish good examples of regional government?
- 14 What is the work being attempted by the Tennessee Valley Authority?
- 15 Explain the work being done by the National Resources Board

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 What should be the smallest population for which a separate county government should exist? Give reasons in detail. Would it be the same in all parts of the country?
- 2 How would you determine whether a town near a large city is or is not in the metropolitan area? What factors would control this?
- 3 Is it necessary to have a county government in Philadelphia? County governments in New York City? Give reasons
- 4 Are there metropolitan centers other than New York which could profitably organize commissions to make regular studies? Which cities? Give details.
- 5 Secure a copy of the 1934 Report of the National Resources Board. What value do you see in their recommendations? Criticize

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Trace the history of the creation of your county, including its limits before its present boundaries were established
- 2 What is the status of school districts in your state? Is any effort

being made to set up a system in which there would be fewer districts?

- 3 Are there any small metropolitan areas near your home? Study them for location, population, and for the common problems of the several political units

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Chapter 18 GOVERNMENTAL CENTRALIZATION

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To demonstrate that there is an increasing tendency toward centralization in government
- 2 To show how authority is being concentrated in the executive
3. To see how greater authority is being acquired by the larger units of government

AS THE demand is created for more consolidation in government there is developed also a strong tendency to centralize government. Government which was once carried on by local towns or townships is now performed by the county or by the state. Governmental functions once performed by the state are now carried on by the federal government. The tendency toward centralization is a natural product of the age of mechanization and urbanization which has been developing rapidly for several generations.

CENTRALIZATION NECESSARY

Mechanization and urbanization produce common problems for people even though they live in different states and communities. Disease germs do not stop at county boundaries. The effects of poverty do not subside as we leave one political jurisdiction and

enter another. The effects of child labor are the same everywhere, whether in the sweat shops of our cities or in the beet fields of the open country. Problems of road construction are not peculiar with each state and with every community, instead they are the product of conditions which are state-wide or even interstate. Problems of banking are not isolated to each community and to each state but are common to all parts of the country. Mechanization, in the use of automobiles, radio, and airplanes, makes it necessary to think of establishing not only state police systems but even a national police system which would have interstate jurisdiction. These and many other problems could be cited to show how machinery of transportation and of production has widened the scope of the citizen's activity and exposed him to areas of which even his immediate ancestors never dreamed.

Two Opposing Theories When we face the question of which government—local, state, or federal—should handle which problem we are certain to find two decidedly different viewpoints. The persons who want the least control and interference by the government will want the local government to do almost everything which government is expected to do. They will offer as arguments the contention that distant governments at the state house or at the national capital are impersonal and oppressive—that they tend to tyrannize over the people and are filled with bureaucrats who are not interested in the welfare of the citizens. These people are likely to use the arguments of states' rights—a popular doctrine of pre-Civil War days which fitted nicely into a non-mechanical civilization. Finally, to clinch their argument they may quote Thomas Jefferson to the effect that that government is best which lies nearest to the people. Of course these people fail to realize that in Jefferson's day there were no railroads, telegraphs, telephones, or automobiles—that there was little or no interstate shipment of cattle, food, and dairy products, that there were no highly advertised remedies for the cure of disease, that there were no problems arising from the use and the interstate transmission of electric current, that there were practically no improved roads, that the germ theory of disease had not been proved and consequently people knew nothing about the control of epidemics and of the harmful character of some sources of water and of food. One can see that in a non-mechanical age, when people moved about little and few ever went

far from home, it was easy to exercise the minimum essentials of control through the local government. People were local minded and believed in local government. To many of them any other kind of government was a gross intrusion. That was all the more true of governments with headquarters at distant places.

Mechanization of our society has changed all this. No longer is it possible for a town or a township to live unto itself. People are constantly moving here and there, so much so that the local government is incapable of handling the problems which arise. The village constable gives way to the state motorcycle policeman or to the city police squad car with its short-wave radio set. People who once traveled by carriage in a leisurely manner found it possible to inquire concerning the route at every village. The modern automobile makes it necessary to have highways marked not by townships but by numbers on a federal system. The local administration of poor relief, to take another illustration, has been supplemented by state and by federal funds. The local administration of schools has given way to county, to state, and even to federal control.

The Influence of Laissez Faire. The people who would have the government operate largely from local sources would always leave things as they found them. They are averse to change. They are the exponents of the laissez-faire doctrine. They hark back to the "good old days" when government didn't do much and therefore was inexpensive. They forget and often don't know that the government which costs little really performs few jobs. It should be clear that a changing society like the society in which we live demands a changing government, and that changes toward centralization may be absolutely necessary to meet a changing civilization. We cannot always meet new problems with old devices. Consequently the states' rights, or we might call it the laissez faire philosophy of government, must be called into question. At least it is being discarded more and more with the efforts to solve each problem that arises.

Checks and Balances. As our form of government was conceived an effort was made to have one department of government operate independently of the other. The executive was expected to participate in legislation only by signing or by vetoing bills which the legislative branch passed. It was not expected that the executive should formulate policies, but he was supposed to keep the legisla-

tive branch informed on the condition of the government and of the legislation which might be advantageous. Similarly, the Senate was expected to confirm appointments of the executive before they became valid as well as confirm treaties which might be made with other countries. Nothing was said about the power of the executive to ask for the resignation of any official whose appointment had been confirmed. No authority was given in the Constitution for the courts to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation but, early in the history of the country, the courts assumed this function. Thus we see that in the early history of our country there was a serious effort made to keep each department of government separate from another. As time passed we find an increasing tendency for the executive to assume responsibilities and actually, in many cases, to have additional powers given him by the legislature.

CENTRALIZATION IN THE EXECUTIVE

Expanding Powers of the Executive. Since Congress is not in session all of the time and cannot meet all emergencies as they arise the members have given the executive authority to do many things which were formerly not granted. Congress, for some years, has given the President power to raise or lower tariff rates within certain limits. During the early period of the Roosevelt Recovery era Congress gave the President authority to fix the gold content of the dollar. Furthermore, the President, under the National Industrial Recovery Act (N I R A), was given authority for one year to license business if he saw the necessity for doing it. In 1934 Congress gave the President authority to negotiate reciprocal tariff treaties, allowing him to change rates as much as 50 per cent. We constantly hear the assertion being made that "Congress should govern." The people who make this assertion probably do not know that it is exceedingly difficult for the legislative branch of the government, whether in city, state, or nation, to formulate a policy of action. Programs of action do not come from one branch of the government, or even from a few leaders in Congress, or in the state legislature.

The Executive as Policy Formulator. Instead, programs of governmental action come from the *Administration*. The Administration consists of the chief executive (Mayor, Governor, or Presi-

dent) together with the working majority which he may have in council, in the state legislature, or in Congress. The chief executive, together with his advisers inside and outside of the government, is the source from which governmental policies must come. Who formulated the policies of the Roosevelt Recovery Program? Con-



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HOME STUDY FOR 125 MILLION PEOPLE!

gress could never have formulated them in the short time required for their enactment. This does not mean that Congress does not have the ability to formulate a program, but it does mean that the delays of debate, of committee activity, and of a wide variety of opinion held by members are not conducive to the speedy formulation of a program of action. Instead, the President submitted drafts of legislation on which Congress held hearings, offered minor

amendments, and then rather quickly enacted them into law. The N. I. R. A., the F. E. R. A., the T. V. A., the P. W. A., and the A. A. A. are a few of the many enactments which came from Congress as the result of proposals from President Roosevelt and his advisers. The Constitution places upon the President the obligation for formulating policies, for the Constitution specifies (Article II, Section 3) that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

Some Presidents are more successful in the formulation of policies and in having them enacted into law than are others. Franklin Roosevelt demonstrated outstanding qualities in the formulation of policies. Apparently he counseled widely and, in many cases, wisely. He submitted to Congress during the first months after his inauguration many plans for legislation and almost all of them were enacted into law with extraordinary promptness. Woodrow Wilson was really the first President who successfully took the position that the President was the head of the policy-forming arm of the government. He insisted, when he came into office, that the banking laws should be rewritten and the result was the Federal Reserve Act. He insisted upon a reduction of the tariff rates and the result was the Underwood Tariff Act. He was certain that the government should control unfair competition and the result was the creation of the Federal Trade Commission. He was sure that assistance of a constructive kind should be given to agriculture and the result was the passage of the Lever Act, creating agricultural extension work, and of the Smith-Hughes Act, providing for vocational education.

The assumption of responsibility for the formulation of policies is the plan which any governor must use if he is to succeed in getting anything done. Frank O. Lowden in Illinois, Alfred E. Smith in New York, Gifford Pinchot in Pennsylvania, Harry Byrd in Virginia, and Paul McNutt in Indiana are a few of the Governors in recent times who have demonstrated capacity to formulate policies and have them enacted. When the Administration has a plan for legislation it must have the assistance of the party leaders and of the party whips and of the administration spokesmen in securing enactment in the legislative branch of the government. There is a strong tendency in American legislative bodies to give first con-

sideration to those bills which are sponsored by the Administration. It is only when the executive and the legislative branches of the government are not in harmony, or are in open hostility to each other, that this is not done

Mayors must assume responsibility in promoting programs for their cities. Blankenburg in Philadelphia, Mitchel and La Guardia in New York, Harrison in Chicago, and Johnson in Cleveland are among the Mayors of American cities who have assumed conspicuous leadership in programs of civic reform and public improvements

The Power of Appointment. The increasing power of appointment is another source from which the executive has secured much authority. When George Washington became President he was obliged to appoint four cabinet officers, a few judges and ambassadors, and some minor officials. The President of the United States now is responsible for thousands of appointments—members of important commissions, cabinet heads, bureau chiefs, ambassadors, ministers, postmasters, district attorneys, and many other public officials. The power to appoint gives the President tremendous influence in the shaping of a political machine.

In the same way the Governors of states and the Mayors of our cities have expanded their powers. A generation or more ago practically all state officials were chosen by popular vote. Since that time, because of the increasing demands made upon government, it has been necessary to create many new departments. With the creation of each new department we are likely to find that the Governor is given authority to appoint the head, so that today we find it quite common for Governors to appoint heads of such departments as banking, health, welfare, public education, agriculture, mines, conservation, insurance, and public properties. This gives the Governor much authority over appointments and it certainly is as it should be, since these officials, if the best results are to be secured, cannot be elected by the people and then be expected to co-operate with the Governor in the formulation of an administrative program and in the enforcement of the state statutes. It is clear that the executives of the different arms of the government have enlarged power over the executives of a generation or two ago, largely because of the authority which they have acquired in making appointments. In each case the management of government has shifted to the execu-

tive, partly from officials who were formerly elected and partly from officials whose posts have been newly created

The Short Ballot The vesting of responsibility in the chief executive for the appointment of all of his subordinates has come to be referred to as the *short ballot*. We have the short ballot to a remarkable degree in the federal government. The people vote for a President and for members of Congress and no more. They do not vote for federal judges, for treasurers, auditors, or prosecutors. How ridiculous it would be if the voters were obliged to vote for a Treasurer of the United States as we are expected to select a competent state treasurer or an efficient county treasurer! How troublesome it would be if the sovereign citizen were expected to assist in the selection of a Comptroller General as the voter in the state election is expected to have ability to select a state auditor, and the voter in the county a county controller. In the federal government the citizen does not vote for an Attorney General, but usually in the state government he is expected to do so and in the county government he is expected to assist in the election of a public prosecutor. The question is often raised as to whether there is any good reason for this difference. People question whether it would not be better in the interest of the efficient management of our government if the judges selected the clerks of their courts instead of having them elected by the people. They ask whether such offices as coroner, county surveyor, and county superintendent of schools might either be abolished or filled in some way other than by popular vote, for they agree that then we might be able to achieve the short ballot, the citizen might understand what he is voting for, and more efficient government might be developed.

Executive Control over Budgets. The executive, whether Mayor, Governor, or President, has come to wield a large influence in settling questions pertaining to the formulation of budgets. It has become increasingly common for the executive to sit in person or have his representative sit as a member of the group which exercises final authority over all budget problems. State governments have directors of budgets and the federal government since 1921 has had an officer bearing that title. His job really consists of passing final judgment upon all items in all budgets submitted by the many government departments and commissions for the operation of their work during the fiscal period.

Until recently the control of expenditures was exercised by many scattered committees of the legislative branch of the government. Thus if the Post-Office Committee of Congress decided to recommend the building of a large number of post-office buildings, the likelihood was that the buildings were constructed without much consideration being given to the question of whether the revenue for their payment was in sight. Similarly for the Committee on Pensions if it decided to recommend general pension increases. The same could be said of the Committee on Naval Affairs if it decided upon a naval expansion program. Such was the federal government's method of appropriating money and such was the fashion in which state legislatures spent the money of their states. At the present time the executive is certain to hold a whip hand over expenditures by way of the control which he exerts through the Budget Director. It is another evidence of the centralization of governmental authority and responsibility.

The Selective Veto. The selective veto is another device, exercised by many Governors, by which the executive can exert more authority than was once held by this official. By means of the selective veto the Governor, using it usually after the legislature adjourns, can select items for veto in bills passed by the legislature to which he does not wish to give his approval. By vetoing all of the bill he would kill some desirable legislation. By signing the bill as a whole he would consent to some items to which he has some objection. Instead the selective veto gives the Governor authority to veto certain items in a bill while he accepts other items. This type of veto is usually employed in connection with appropriation bills.

CENTRALIZATION THROUGH COMMISSIONS AND DIRECTORS

Control by Commissions. Commissions have produced an immense amount of centralization of authority in government. The states which originally tried to regulate common carriers by means of their state railroad commissions found that their authority did not extend beyond state lines while the railroads did. The result was that authority for regulating common carriers was centralized in the Interstate Commerce Commission, a federal government agency. The local communities and municipalities found, when public carriers came to be commonly used, that they were helpless to

regulate rates in taxicabs, street cars, telephones, and other public services, including gas and electricity. As a result of this condition authority had to be vested in commissions created by the state legislatures and known as state commerce or as public service commissions. This action further illustrates the centralization of authority in the larger governmental unit. In order to control unfair competition among persons and corporations engaged in a similar enterprise it became necessary to centralize authority in the Federal Trade Commission. The Federal Power Commission is another illustration of the concentration of authority in the hands of the federal government when it was seen that the control exercised over this phase of modern living by the forty-eight states was inadequate.

Control of Public Services. Railroads and other forms of transportation have come to be controlled by the federal government. For a time during the period of the World War the federal government actually operated the railroads and the operation was in the hands of a Director General. During the depression which began in 1929, when many of the railroad companies were in difficult financial condition, the President designated one of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, Joseph B. Eastman, as co-ordinator of railroads. His job was to bring about an orderly plan of operation so far as finances and services were concerned. This assignment was an excellent illustration of how governmental authority can be centralized and how responsibility for a piece of work can be placed in the hands of an expert.

A similar illustration can be taken from the field of banking and investments. The large majority of our banks have been organized under state laws and many of them have had no connection with the federal government. An opportunity was given, when the Federal Reserve Act was passed in 1913, for the state banks to affiliate with the national banking system, but few of them actually took advantage of this opportunity. The closing of the banks in March, 1933, by President Roosevelt was accompanied by an effort, when the banks reopened, to have them affiliate with the Federal Reserve System. The act of Congress of 1934 which provided for the licensing and the control of stock exchanges and of the marketing of securities further illustrates the centralization of authority in the hands of the federal government.

The development of power sites by the federal government at

Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River, at Norris Dam on the Clinch River, at the Bonneville, at the Grand Coulee dams on the Columbia River, and at the Boulder Dam on the Colorado River, together with the authorization for the construction of transmission lines and for the sale of electric current, is another example of the fact that some problems, if they are to be solved, must be met by the action of the federal government and not by the many governmental units of states, counties, and municipalities

CENTRALIZATION THROUGH FINANCIAL AID

Grants-In-Aid. Doubtless the one method, more than all others, by which the governmental functions have been centralized has been that of having the larger unit of government grant financial aid to the smaller unit, provided that the local government meets certain prescribed conditions. These enterprises of joint financial operation are known as grants-in-aid and are extended by the federal government to the states, and quite as frequently are extended by the states to the local units of government—counties, townships, and municipalities.

Under this plan we find that as early as 1862 Congress passed the Morrill Bill, providing for grants of land to the states on condition that they would organize agricultural and mechanic arts colleges. These grants made possible the creation of many of the state universities and state agricultural colleges. This act was followed in 1887 with the Hatch Bill which granted assistance to the states provided they would set up agricultural experiment stations. In 1914 the Smith-Lever Act was passed to provide for work in agricultural extension, later the Smith-Hughes Bill provided for assistance to schools in the event that they set up courses in vocational education. Congress has also appropriated money to assist state and local governments in fighting venereal diseases. In 1921 the Shepard-Towner Act, appropriating money for maternity care, was passed. In 1919 the first federal funds were appropriated to the states for the extension of the highway system. In 1924 the Clarke-McNary Act set up a fund for the further protection of forests in connection with the forestry work of the states.

Grants-in-aid have been generally employed by state governments. States appropriate funds for schools on condition that the

local school district employs teachers with adequate training, or has satisfactory buildings and standard equipment, or provides for a school term of a minimum length. States appropriate money to counties for administering old age pensions, widows' pensions, for building highways, and for performing other necessary governmental functions. These grants-in-aid are becoming increasingly common. They provide a plan whereby the local government will have something done for it on condition that it taxes its citizens to do something for themselves. One is disposed to wonder if the grants-in-aid, if made sufficiently large and for a sufficiently large variety of enterprises, might not eventually eliminate the necessity for much local taxation.

Control of Education. There is an increasing tendency for the larger units of government to control education. All of the forty-eight states appropriate money to local school districts. The certification of teachers has been taken from county authorities and centered in the state departments of education. The standardizing and the grading of schools has become more and more a state function. High school inspection and accrediting is carried out by state officials. The prescribing of satisfactory play areas and of suitable lighting for school buildings has come to be vested in the state departments of education. The retirement funds for teachers are administered largely by state machinery. Provisions for school libraries, for instruction of defective children (chiefly the blind, the deaf, and the crippled), the physical examination of children, and the provision for vocational education have been made by state authority. During recent years the federal government provided money for placing nurses and teachers, otherwise unemployed, on the public pay roll under funds from the Civil Works Educational Service (C W E S). The whole tendency in the management of educational policies has been to center the administration more with the state and less in the local communities.

Control of Highways. Only a few decades ago highways were constructed by local officials from local funds with little or no uniformity as to plan and as to materials used. Since 1917 all states have been granting funds to local units of government for the building and the maintenance of highways. Not only do the states make appropriations of money but the state highway departments exercise supervision over local units of government in a variety

of ways involving highway problems. In some states county highway engineers are employed only after the state has, in some way, given its approval to their fitness to do the work. More important than this is the scheme whereby the state highway department in quite a number of states is obliged to approve road projects which are undertaken by local units of government. This is done in the interest of securing uniformity of construction, similarity of grades, and general serviceability to the users.

The expansion of state activity in the development of highways is reflected in the fact that in 1915 state highway systems maintained wholly or in part 50,402 miles of road while by 1934 the mileage had risen to 358,210. The activity of the federal government in this field is shown in the 27,211 miles in 1923 for which federal funds had been allotted as against the 110,262 miles in 1932.

Control of Health. The states, through their legislatures, make broad general policies governing the health of citizens. In addition there are states which give to state boards of health the authority to enforce legislation when local boards fail to act. The state is the agency through which vital statistics (records of births and of deaths) are gathered and recorded, and some states impose penalties for the failure on the part of attending physicians to report this type of information.

Furthermore, the states usually assume supervision over the water supplies of cities by examining samples of water and sometimes by condemning the source of supply. They assume supervision over methods of disposing of sewage, over the erection and the management of county hospitals, and over the reporting, the treatment, and sometimes the quarantine of communicable diseases. The state departments of health have bacteriologists available to examine samples of water to determine their freedom from, or the presence of dangerous disease germs. These bacteriologists are also available for other types of work done in the interest of the public health. Some of the states make available to local communities and to school boards serums and vaccines which may be used by physicians in establishing immunity against such diseases as small pox, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and diphtheria.

The federal government has assumed some authority for the health of its citizens through the Bureau of Public Health, which provides protection by quarantines against communicable diseases

from other countries, by funds to combat diseases within the country, by hospitalization, and by the issuance of publications on various phases of health and of disease. The public health of citizens is further conserved by the Department of Agriculture through the facilities it has set up for the inspection of foods. In 1891 the Department inspected meats at time of slaughtering in six cities. By 1927 there were 863 establishments in 258 cities and towns under federal supervision.

Control of Relief. The federal and the state governments, especially during recent years, have been active in providing large sums of money for the relief of the unemployed. When the depression developed in 1929 private funds and local funds managed to provide some form of relief until 1931, when the states were obliged to furnish financial assistance. The relief loads for the states became so burdensome that in May, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (F E R A) was established, providing assistance to the unemployed and spending hundreds of millions of dollars for the purpose. During 1933 it provided more than half of the public money spent for relief, the state and local governments combined furnishing the remainder. During the first year of the operation of the F E R A the federal government made grants to the states and territories for relief amounting to \$500,000,000. In addition to this sum and prior to the creation of the F E R A, the federal government had made a grant of \$300,000,000 from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (R F C) for relief purposes. This illustrates a decided concentration of authority in the federal government in another phase of public activity.

The Public Works Administration (P W A) had appropriated to it \$3,300,000,000 when it was created by Congress. Its administrator, Harold L. Ickes, was empowered to co-operate with local governments in the financing of permanent public improvements. School districts, city governments, sanitary districts, and other public bodies, if they could show satisfactory financial conditions, were allowed to have their construction projects financed by the federal government by accepting 30 per cent of the cost of construction and in addition by receiving a loan for the remaining 70 per cent to be repaid to the federal government over a term of years. Under these conditions the federal government actually paid for a part of the improvements of local governments. Furthermore, the plans and

specifications for the construction of the public works projects had to be approved by the federal authorities before the grants were made. The plan further illustrates the concentration of financial supervisory power in the federal government.

Social Legislation. In the field of social legislation much progress has been made because state governments have been willing to appropriate money to counties to carry out such projects as widows' pensions and old age pensions. This naturally gives the state government some authority in the determination of policies, in selection of personnel, and generally in carrying out the program. Much of the work in the field of social legislation has been carried out by means of grants-in-aid (see Chapter 12).

Finance. In the field of finance the state governments are assuming greater control over the local units of government. This is being done by way of fixing a maximum limit to which the local taxing bodies may levy taxes. States usually have maximum limits beyond which the local government may not go in levying school taxes, in levying taxes for city purposes, or even in issuing bonds of indebtedness. Control over finances is being exercised further by the creation of state boards of equalization of assessments, as well as by the creation of state tax commissions. The state sometimes assumes control over local budgets and frequently fixes the limits which local governments may collect for certain licenses and fees.

Defense. The federal government has assumed almost complete control over the National Guard units of the states. This has been done by way of prescribing uniform equipment and a minimum amount of drill and maneuvers. Since the World War the National Guard units of the states have lost much of their separate identity by the degree to which they have been obliged to meet the standards of the federal War Department.

OTHER FORMS OF CENTRALIZATION

Centralization through Amendments. A few of the recent amendments to the United States Constitution have contributed to the centralization of authority in the federal government. This might be claimed for the sixteenth amendment which gave Congress authority to pass income tax legislation. Certainly it could be

claimed for the eighteenth amendment which gave to Congress the authority to enact legislation covering the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages. While this amendment has been repealed, it is important to note that prior to the adoption of the amendment all legislation dealing with the liquor traffic was of state and local origin. The proposed child labor amendment, if adopted, would give Congress authority to legislate on the employment of children under eighteen years of age. Congress, on two occasions, passed legislation dealing with the employment of children but in each case the law was held unconstitutional. If the child labor amendment is ratified by the states one more piece of authority will have been centralized in the federal government.

Trends toward Uniformity. That there are trends in the direction of securing more uniformity in our government cannot be questioned. Whether this uniformity of action in all cases can be interpreted as centralization remains an open question, but it is certain that much of it is centralization. Two illustrations of attempts at uniformity might be cited.

(1) *The Governors' Conferences.* Since 1908 the Governors of the different states have been meeting in annual conferences. While they do not have a permanent organization, nevertheless the problems which they discuss are considered with a view to securing common action on current governmental questions. These conferences, like any conference, are concerned with sharing experiences so that some states may profit from the achievements of others. Thus problems of finance, of welfare, of reforestation and soil erosion, of agriculture, of education, and of a large number of problems may be discussed to advantage at the annual conference.

(2) *Model Laws and Charters.* Other illustrations of uniformity can be found in the model laws and charters which are urged upon state legislatures by societies and organizations which are convinced that more uniformity of laws on any given subject should prevail among the states. The National Probation Association is eager to submit to legislatures drafts of model laws covering the probation of prisoners. The National Municipal League has the adoption of the Model County Manager Law as one of its objectives. The same organization has sponsored model charters for cities. Some organizations have urged uniform marriage and divorce laws, while others

have recommended the enactment of uniform legislation pertaining to the sale of fire-arms. Still others have urged uniform legislation on the marking of and on the use of the highways.

EXPERTS FOR SPECIAL SERVICES

So far in this chapter we have traced centralization in government by way of granting the executive more power to determine policies and to appoint his subordinates. Furthermore, we traced the increasing influence of the federal government over the states and of the states over the local governments in determining and in executing policies. We shall now turn to another form of centralization—that of concentrating authority in the hands of experts.

The Use of Experts. Experts have been used for a long time in the administrative side of government. Bacteriologists, entomologists, statisticians, internal revenue collectors, soil chemists, climatologists, meteorologists, and postal inspectors are a few of the many technically trained government officials who have worked in the bureaus of the federal government. The state governments have employed criminologists, alienists, pediatricians, bacteriologists, veterinary surgeons, plant morphologists, and many other experts to do highly skilled work.

All of these experts have been employed in the administrative side of government. Until recently experts have not been employed extensively in the policy forming side of government. The "brain trust" of the Roosevelt era is the most extensive illustration of how experts can be employed to help determine policies of government. Wallace and Tugwell in the Department of Agriculture, Perkins in the Department of Labor, Warren and Rogers as advisers to the Treasury, Dickinson in Commerce, Gruening in the Department of Interior, Moley in the State Department, and Berle as adviser on and as drafter of legislation were a few of the many persons, experts in their fields, who were responsible for the formulation of government policies. Similar trends have been developing in many of the state and city governments (see Chapter 6). As far as cities are concerned it is probably best illustrated in New York where Mayor LaGuardia, upon his election in 1933, proceeded to appoint a number of experts in their fields as heads of departments in the

city government William Hodson, a trained and experienced social worker and also a lawyer, was named commissioner of public welfare A H McCormick, a prominent and competent penologist, was asked to fill the post of commissioner of corrections Robert Moses, the president of the Long Island Park Commission, was placed in the position of park commissioner for Manhattan Langdon Post, a man who had had experience with housing problems, was appointed to be tenement house commissioner A A Berle, Jr, of Columbia University and identified with the Roosevelt "brain trust," was appointed city chamberlain—an office which has some control over the finances of the city Joseph D. McGoldrick, assistant professor of government at Columbia University, was named deputy controller Paul Blanchard, long identified with the City Affairs Committee in its criticism of the affairs of New York, was named commissioner of accounts Russell Forbes of New York University, secretary of the National Municipal League, was named as commissioner of purchase Then too Dr S S Goldwater, a distinguished hospital administrator, was made commissioner of hospitals, and Dr John L Rice, professor of public health at Yale University and formerly commissioner of health of New Haven, was appointed to the post of commissioner of health These appointments, together with many others in many other arms of the government—city, county, state, and federal, illustrate the tendency to concentrate authority in the hands of experts

The employment of city managers is an excellent illustration of the use of experts in directing problems of city government (see Chapter 5) This arises from the fact that the city manager is an experienced person in the details of city government—finance, repairs, construction, sanitation, water supply, fire and police protection, and other necessary aspects of municipal administration

Decentralization. While the forces producing centralization have been at work concentrating authority in the state and in the federal governments, there has been another force at work in the direction of decentralizing government This is well illustrated in the efforts to secure home rule for cities and for metropolitan areas While much effort has been spent in the direction of securing home rule for cities, nevertheless it is important to note that this demand comes chiefly from the large metropolitan areas in which they make de-

mands to be free from the restraining hand of the state legislatures (see Chapter 16). The fact that many people are thinking and talking in terms of setting up metropolitan areas as units of government suggests centralization of a kind. Furthermore, the large units of government, chiefly the federal government, will continue to expand their authority, at least, by helping to finance projects which were formerly carried on by local units of government.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. Why is centralization necessary?
2. What are the two opposing theories of centralization?
3. In what ways has mechanization changed the older theory and made the newer one important?
4. Give an explanation with illustrations of how the governing power has been centralized in the executive.
5. Why is it natural that the executive should become increasingly important as a policy maker?
6. What arguments can be given for the short ballot from the point of view of efficient government?
7. To what extent does the executive control budgets? How is this an instance of centralized authority?
8. Explain the selective veto. How does this give the executive authority over the legislature?
9. Explain centralization of authority in commissions. To which branch of the government does this give greater power?
10. What is meant by grants-in-aid? Give illustrations of the use of them in education, transportation, and health.
11. In what way have grants-in-aid centralized government? In what particular units of government have they concentrated authority? What units have had a corresponding loss of authority?
12. Explain how grants-in-aid have aided in solving problems in education, highway construction, health, relief, and social legislation.
13. In what ways is the control of finance becoming centralized in state governments?
14. How are governors' conferences, and the making of model laws and charters leading to uniformity in government?
15. Explain the value of the increased use of experts in government. Give illustrations.
16. What examples of decentralization of government can be given? Is this apt to affect the forces of centralization that have been discussed?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 In what respects do you consider the centralization of educational authority in state governments to be advisable?
- 2 What reasons are there for thinking that we shall have further centralization of governmental authority in the United States?
- 3 Set forth your arguments for and against the short ballot
- 4 Do you think it is consistent with sound government policy for the executive to have a large part in the determination of policies? Give reasons.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Take your city or your county as the basis for study. Explain in some detail how it is controlled by the state and by the federal government in determining policies for schools, highways, relief, and health
- 2 Make a list of local problems which might be solved to good advantage if your community received some grants-in-aid from the state or from the federal government.
- 3 Explain how the Mayor of your city or the city-manager has had authority concentrated in his hands during recent years
- 4 How is your community regulated, if at all, by the state health department? By the various health services of the federal government? In your judgment would your community benefit from further centralization of these services?

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PART VI

THE CITIZEN CREATES PUBLIC OPINION

IN A democratic society citizens are supposed to have the right to criticize the acts of the government, to petition the government for changes and improvements in its work, and to influence legislators and other government officials to do the things which the citizen thinks should be done. Under a democratic scheme of things each citizen should be free to express his opinions and to offer criticisms, to the end that opinion can be created and intelligent action taken on any public question.

In Part VI we shall show the influence of the citizen on the government, either by his individual efforts or by having groups of citizens employ a lobbyist (Chapter 19) to make known their wants. We shall further suggest some of the many groups which are organized (Chapter 20) to demand a voice in and a control over governmental action. Finally, we shall suggest some of the devices and methods which are employed by organized groups (Chapter 21) to create and mold opinion.



Chapter 19 THE LOBBYIST

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To present the influence of lobbyists on the government
- 2 To show how lobbyists develop support for their programs
- 3 To explain the benefits and evils of lobbying

IN AN earlier section of this book (Part II) we considered the actual operation of the various arms of the government—city, county, state, and federal, together with the three commonly accepted departments, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. We saw how these departments supplemented one another and how officials received their authority.

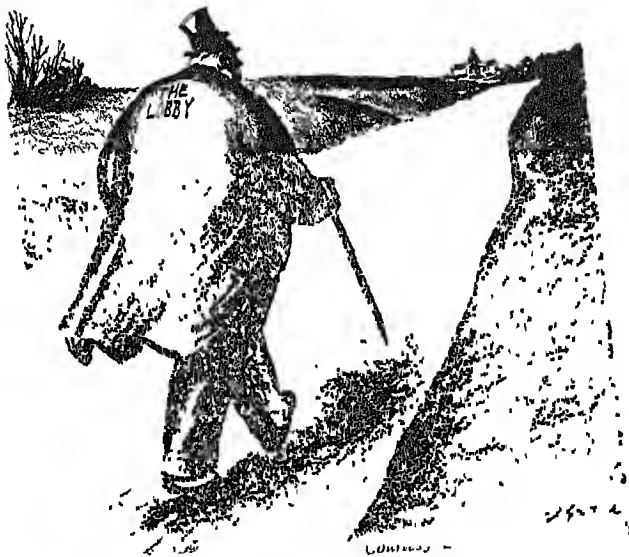
Legalized Officials All of these forms, branches, and arms of the government have been provided through some legislative or some constitutional creation. Legal authority exists somewhere for such offices as Governor, Attorney General, Mayor, alderman, secretary of agriculture, county treasurer, judges of the various courts, and scores of other offices which might be cited. These officials derive their authority from state or federal constitutions, from state or federal statutes or from the charter of the city which they serve. Their duties are prescribed and the public expects certain functions to be performed by them. They secure their salaries from the public.

treasury. They are responsible to the people who elect them, or to the official who appoints them. Their terms of office are fixed by constitutions, by statutes, by special charter, or by the pleasure of the person making the appointment. They are the legalized officials of the government, they are the persons from whom the citizen expects to secure action and obtain service.

Private Agents. In addition to the legalized workers in the government service we have a host of agents, active in shaping policies and in securing government favors, who have no legal or constitutional authorization for their work. These people we do not name officials. They are known by such titles as lobbyists, public relations counsels, legal counsels, and sometimes as "propagandists" or as "fixers." These persons are not paid from the public treasury and are not responsible to the public. Instead, they are responsible to the organization that wants some favor done by one or more branches of the government service. Often these non-legal agents perform a valuable public service in making known to the legislative branch or to the administrators the wishes of the people they represent. Organized laborers, the farmers, the manufacturers, the bankers, or the teachers, through their spokesmen, make known their desires on many questions of legislation and administration. These groups employ agents to lobby for them. The agents are paid salaries, sometimes lavish salaries, and in addition to this are allowed large expense accounts. Doubtless the best known and most highly paid group of legislative agents consists of the membership at Washington of the Monday Lunch Club. The club is not a business organization but merely an association of agents who meet once a week at lunch. There are included in its membership the representatives of the oil, the coal, the leather, the silk, the textile, the railroad, the beef, the glove, the cotton, the banking, and many other business interests. Their job is to protect the interests of the business organization that employs them. While few people know of these men, they constitute, no doubt, the most influential single group of men in our country so far as the determination of governmental policies is concerned.

Ex-Officials as Private Agents. The private agents for the various groups which want special services performed are recruited quite commonly from the legal profession and often from newspaper men. A knowledge of the law or a capacity to write effectively are qualifications which often fit people to become special agents. In

addition, it is necessary for the agent to know his way around the various departments of government. He must not only know the officials of the government and their duties, but he must often know the quickest and most effective way by which the favor he seeks can



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be secured. The private agent must be acquainted with officials, with the key men, with newspaper men, and he must know of places to go and the people to meet.

As a consequence of this condition many lobbyists are chosen from the ranks of people who have retired from some official connection with the government. Cabinet members and other government officials, including members of Congress, after their terms of office expire, often remain in Washington to practice law and to take cases for clients who have special business with the government. These

clients may be the public utility companies, the manufacturers of this commodity or that, the drug industry, the persons who want a protective tariff, or some workers who want protective legislation. The same is true of men who have held office in the state governments. They often remain at the state capital to lobby for this or for that group.

There are some persons who believe that such activity of former officials should be controlled or limited in some way. At least some persons maintain that the connections of these former officials should be made known. President Franklin Roosevelt expressed his displeasure at the activity of members of the Democratic National Committee serving in Washington as special agents. He objected to their having official connection with the party while they were doing certain work for clients with the government, quite naturally allowing the impression to get abroad that they were able to secure special favors from the Administration. The result of the President's objection was that a number of men resigned their posts as members of the Democratic National Committee.

Special Agents and Legislative Committees. We know that the important work in the legislative branch of the government is done, not on the floor of the two houses, but in the several legislative committees. We know, if a committee of one house recommends a bill favorably, the probability is that it will pass in that house. Consequently, the lobbyists and the special agents must present their cases in behalf of their clients to legislative committees, a thing which they do with great eagerness. They are likely to present their cases to influential members of a committee at dinner, at a private conference, at a party, or casually as they meet in the course of a legislative session. The public hearing on a legislative proposal is one of the important features of the legislative process. When a committee to which a bill has been referred holds public hearings, it is certain that interested groups will present witnesses in support, and other groups will present their witnesses in opposition. The committee hearings constitute important parts of the legislative procedure and the details of the hearings are often given wide publicity. Thus when Louis J. Tabei appears before a legislative committee, the public is informed, through the newspapers, that the National Grange has taken a position on some

public question William Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor, has excellent news value when he appears to testify So do John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Henry I. Harri-man or Harper Sibley of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and Richard Whitney of the New York Stock Exchange

The Lobbyist The lobbyist for an educational program would spend most of his time with the Committees on Education, on Appropriations, and on those which propose tax legislation The spokesman for the union barbers who seeks the licensing of barbers and the inspection of barber shops might attempt to convince the Committee on Public Health of the wisdom of their proposals The lobbyist for the bankers would be active in promoting or in opposing proposals before the Committee on Banking and Currency The lobbyists for agricultural interests would spend much of their time making contacts with the members of the legislative Committees on Agriculture Then too these same lobbyists might endorse or oppose legislative proposals before committees other than those dealing with questions of major interest to them

In this connection we should note that every special group, as soon as it has sufficient financial strength to support a lobbyist, will have one or more agents working on the state legislatures and on Congress If they do not have the necessary funds, they will attempt to raise them in order to carry out their program The teachers, the farmers, the laborers, the bankers, the manufacturers, the sugar growers, the munitions makers, the promoters of preparedness, and the advocates of disarmament—these and many others, to be discussed in the next chapter, maintain national organizations which lobby in the interest of their members, or, as they may conceive of their mission, in the interest of the general public Consequently we can see that legislatures may not act on the basis of their own information and judgment Instead they respond to the wishes of many minority groups which want legislation on a variety of questions favorable to them David Lawrence, a prominent newspaper man, summarized the situation in a radio address¹ on November 15, 1931, when he said

¹ "Government for the Many or the Few" Reprinted by permission of Mr Lawrence.

We have in Washington organized lobbies representing big business. We have in every state capital organized lobbies, conscientiously determined to prevent the re-distribution of taxes if it puts burdens on business or wealth, because they regard this as a process of strangulation—as an interference with the right of unrestrained private gain.

Who is the legislator to believe? The business lobbies with their expensive front, the same groups who, with highly paid legal talent, fight the government every inch of the way as it endeavors to enforce its laws against trusts and illegal combinations or unfair competition? Or shall they try to imagine the will of the great unorganized masses of people who have elected them to legislate, not for the few, but for the many? Here is the dilemma that begets inequitable taxation. It is the bitter struggle between classes to prevent the government from distributing tax burdens as it thinks should be done—a perennial story behind the scenes in government. This is the underlying reason for the catchy slogans—"less government in business," "less paternalism," "less law-making," less of everything, indeed, labeled government, so that business, some of it at least, might pursue its ways without restraint and so that the cost of aiding the farmer and the laborer shall have no place in the budget of the government that belongs to them, but in which government until recent years these two groups have had no effective leadership.

Thus through competent and well paid spokesmen the beneficiaries of a protective tariff press their cause before the Ways and Means Committee of Congress in the manner suggested by the following verse ¹

The tariff boys come one by one,
To the Ways and Means Committee,
They wipe away a righteous tear
As they sing their soulful ditty,

A duty here and a duty there
And a compound rate on hankies,
May foreign buttons never fill
The buttonholes of Yankecs

Hoist up the rate on shoes from Prague
And straw hats from Milan,
Do your *ad valorem* duty
On those uppers from Japan

Oh, some give everything for love,
And others live for beauty,

¹ *The Nation*, 128 271, March 5, 1929. Reprinted by permission of the editors of *The Nation*.

But the tariff hound, from Grundy down,
Knows only one word, Duty

The tariff is not the only question for which interested persons establish lobbies. One of the most effective pieces of lobbying which has ever been done is that which has been carried on to promote the sale of armaments. It has been widely reported that William B. Shearer has lobbied effectively for the armaments manufacturers. For a time he was in the employ of American ship-building corporations and his work of representing these manufacturers is supposed to have produced the failure of the Geneva Disarmament Conference in 1927. The story of his activity came to public attention when he threatened to sue his former employers for the fees due him for his services in their behalf. The organized drug industry is credited with having effectively opposed the food, drugs, and cosmetics bill in 1934, the passage of which would have provided a rigid control of the sale of harmful drugs. The American beet sugar industry has been effective in lobbying in favor of a tariff on sugar imported into our country. The wool growers have been active also in protecting their industry by protective tariff legislation. The organized veterans have lobbied for a bonus to be paid to their members.

Methods Employed by Lobbyists. Since lobbyists are employed by groups that want to have their programs achieved, it becomes necessary for the lobbyist to be successful in planning and in executing his campaign. Consequently he or she may resort to a variety of methods in order to attain the desired ends. Flattery may be sufficient in order to secure the support of some legislators. A long and intimate acquaintance with the official is usually an effective means of securing the favor which one seeks. Generous favors have been done for government officials in return for the assistance which they have given to citizens. This may consist of giving them "tips" on the stock market, of employing members of their families in lucrative positions, and of giving them an opportunity to make advantageous purchases of real estate or other property. Bribery has been known to be used. Lavish entertainment may be needed for others. Legislators have been placed on the payrolls of large corporations as special advisers and have done the bidding of their masters from such positions. Some lobbyists have been known to

resort to threats of blackmail in order to secure their wishes from legislators and other public officials

Quite commonly the lobbyist publicizes the issue for which he expects to secure favorable action from the government. He must keep the public aroused in behalf of his clients. The lobbyist sees to it that Congressmen are bombarded with letters and telegrams



FURNISHING THE POWER

from their constituents, requesting that support be given to or opposition exerted on certain proposals before the government. Three days of such bombardment in 1935 probably prevented the Senate's voting adherence to the World Court. A publicity bureau may be hired to circulate at public meetings and through the mails material which is favorable to their cause. The stock exchanges used this method quite effectively during 1933-1934 in opposing the banking

reforms of the Roosevelt program. They aroused among the owners of stocks and bonds the fear that closer supervision of the investing market would curtail dividends to the investor. The utility interests have carried on extensive advertising campaigns in which they set forth the evils of excessive taxation and of competition by the government. Often undated releases are sent to newspapers which the paper is at liberty to publish. The lobbyists have been known to offer editorials on public questions to newspapers in which, of course, a position favorable to their side of the question is taken. However, the methods which the lobbyists use are often quite subtle and indirect. There was a time when liquor and bribes and even intimidation were used quite extensively with legislators, but these are rather crude methods for the present era. Lawyers are hired to appear before legislative committees and are paid large sums for their services. Advertising campaigns in the newspapers, together with letters sent to citizens to protest a certain plan of action are also likely to be used. By this method Congressmen and legislators are often besieged with requests to support this issue or to defeat that one. The radio is another instrument which has been employed effectively for these purposes. Radio addresses made in opposition to our adherence to the World Court doubtless had much to do, early in 1935, with the Senate's failure to vote adherence.

In spite of this we must recognize that members of our legislative departments of government are reasonably honest persons—as honest, no doubt, as the persons who elect them. Many of them are fearless and capable men and women who act on the facts which are available to them from their own study and investigation as well as from other reliable sources. It must be said for a great host of legislators that lobbyists do not master them. Instead, such legislators are the servants of the rank and file of the people who elect them. Many of them “know their own minds” and act courageously, often to their personal disadvantage. They are known to be independent and uncontrolled and cannot be “managed.”

Other Activities of Agents. These lobbyists, representing particular groups of citizens, do not spend all of their time in lobbying. They are active in this respect only when legislative bodies are in session or when some legislative proposal, in which they have an interest, is being considered for enactment. The agents

of these organizations of bankers, laborers, tradesmen, teachers, lawyers, doctors, or any other vocational, religious, or racial groups, are busy at other times carrying on other work. They compile data to support the cause of their clients, they lecture before groups willing to give them an audience, they edit journals in which the interests of their groups are presented, they may direct the work of the office headquarters of the organization which they represent.

Publication of Journals. Every group which is likely to exercise some influence on the officers of the various arms of our government is certain to publish periodical bulletins or magazines. The American Federation of Labor publishes as its organ of opinion and news *The American Federationist*; the National Education Association publishes the *Journal of the National Education Association*; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People publishes *The Crisis*, the American Bankers' Association publishes *The American Banker*, the miners of Illinois publish *The Illinois Miner*, The American Farm Bureau Federation publishes the *Bureau Farmer*, the Anti-Saloon League publishes *The American Issue*; *The Nation's Business* is the organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *Law and Order* is published by the League for Industrial Rights, a society which stands for "open shop" employment policies, *The American Teacher* is the organ of the American Federation of Teachers. While it is true that some of these publications are not primarily concerned with propagandizing and their agents with lobbying, nevertheless it is true that these publications do aim to present the views of the organizations for which they are expected to speak. The barbers, the bakers, the teachers, the bankers, the railroad engineers, the grocers, the church organizations, and all other vocational, religious, or racial groups of any importance are certain to have their organs of opinion through which they spread their ideas, attempt to unify and crystallize their thinking, and finally shape opinion in their favor.

Resolutions and Petitions. The organized group finds that the regular publication of a journal is not enough. It must, in order to be effective, pass resolutions and make them public. In addition, it is necessary to submit petitions to legislative bodies and other government officials. Resolutions are passed in connection with meetings of the organization. Usually an annual convention of the

group produces one or more significant resolutions. Thus, a few years ago, a resolution of one of the railroad brotherhoods called for government ownership of the railroads, a resolution of the American Federation of Labor in 1932 put that body on record in favor of a thirty-hour week in industry; a resolution of one of the prominent service organizations in its national meeting opposed the recognition of Russia by the United States. Some organizations pass resolutions opposing child labor and others pass resolutions calling for the ratification of the child labor amendment. Resolutions from annual meetings of one organization or another are looked upon as expressing the judgment of the members and as representative of the policy which it wants organized government to pursue. These resolutions do much to shape opinion, not directly the opinion of legislators, but the opinion of the people who read the reports of these resolutions when they receive publicity in the newspapers. Thus mass opinion in turn influences legislators and other government officials. If the officers of a democratic government can be made to feel that a "ground swell" is developing for a particular proposition, they will hurry to support it. Resolutions from large and powerful organizations, especially when they receive publicity in the press, help create these "ground swells."

Petitions are frequently sent to Congress, to state legislatures, to city councils, or to committees of these bodies, or to other governmental agencies. These are signed by persons who want to request that a certain line of action be followed, or who oppose some action promoted by another group. Thus, one group of people will petition the President of the United States requesting that he grant full rights of citizenship to political prisoners who had been convicted for some offense during the period of the World War. Another group will petition the Governor of California seeking a pardon for Tom Mooney, others will petition Congress to curtail expenditures for armaments, others will petition Congress for old age pension legislation, still others petition officers of the city government, soliciting their interest and support in a plan for pensioning public servants—policemen, firemen, and other public employees. Petitions are common in modern political life. People sign them quite willingly and public officers have many presented to them. However, it seems that many names on a few petitions might not produce as favorable an effect on government officials as

a large number of letters written or telegrams sent by citizens in support of, or in opposition to a proposed policy. Thus, during the Hoover administration, the members of the American Association of University Women are supposed to have mailed a million postal cards to the President requesting that he use his influence in making the London Disarmament Conference a success. While the conference was not successful, it is true that the President appointed Mary E. Woolley, the president of the A. A. U. W., to membership on the conference delegation from the United States.

Increasing Membership. The groups organized for one of these special purposes are eager to increase their memberships. The Chambers of Commerce will urge business men to affiliate with their organization; the organizations of teachers sometimes pride themselves on 100 per cent memberships, the bar associations urge membership in their local, state, and national organizations; the peace societies, the farm organizations, the preparedness societies, the manufacturers, the veterans, the real estate promoters—these and many other groups are constantly soliciting members, for an enlarged membership provides greater resources for carrying out any program and also makes an impressive showing when the executive officer of one of these groups can claim twenty, fifty, or five hundred thousand members.

Controlling Society. Each of these groups, as we shall make clear in some detail in the next two chapters, is anxious to control society from the angle which it deems wise. The thing or things which it wants done may not be the best for all society, but it is likely to be the best for the special activity in which the group members are interested. Thus the manufacturers want tariffs, not necessarily because tariffs promote prosperity for all citizens, but because they make profits for those who produce the commodities protected. Similarly, the armament manufacturers want preparedness, not because armaments make for peace, but because they provide profitable business for the manufacturers of these products, as the investigations by the Nye Committee revealed late in 1934. The teachers want compulsory education, tenure laws, and old age retirement legislation, because such legislation will benefit individual teachers and also because they believe much of this legislation will prove helpful to all members of society.

Control of Lobbyists. There are persons who contend that some

control should be exercised over the lobbyists. Some even go so far as to declare that the lobbyists should not be allowed to have access to government officials. If this were done the fundamental right of petition, guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, would be curtailed. There is no doubt that many of these lobbyists are interested in promoting the welfare of all citizens, or at least of those citizens who need to have their welfare promoted. To prevent lobbying by many lobbyists would tend to defeat the general welfare. It would certainly violate one of the precious principles of democracy—that of the right to petition in an orderly way as guaranteed by the Constitution. Consequently the only effective control which organized society could exert over the lobbyists would be to require all of them, before they have access to any government offices, to register with a government bureau or office. This registration would provide a record of the name of the lobbyist, whether he or she receives a salary from the organization represented, together with the name and the exact aim and purpose of the organization or society. Probably a small fee should be charged to defray the expense of record keeping. The register of the lobbyists should be open for public examination. Some states now require some type of registration for lobbyists.

As a result of this discussion we may properly conclude that the informal organizations, through their lobbyists and by means of their publicity, are eager to have the government put its approval on their proposals. We shall turn to the next chapter to learn something of the organized groups which attempt to shape opinion and to control government action.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. Compare the work of legal agencies of government with that of lobbyists.
2. Why do lobbyists exist? Whom do they represent?
3. Why are many of the lobbyists ex-officials of the government? What stand did President Roosevelt take toward officials of the Democratic party serving as lobbyists? Why?
4. In what way do lobbyists make their appeals?

CREATING PUBLIC OPINION

5. What are some of the representative groups of people that maintain lobbies in state and national capitals?
6. What was David Lawrence's attitude toward the work of lobbyists?
7. Characterize the methods used by lobbyists
8. How have lobbyists changed their methods of working?
9. What is meant by a "ground swell"?
10. What are the purposes of resolutions and petitions?
11. What is the value to a group that desires special legislation of increasing its membership?
12. For what purposes do organized groups desire to control society? Give examples
13. What method of legalizing and controlling lobbies has been suggested?
14. Why may lobbyists be considered the most influential group of men in our country?
15. Make a list of publications, other than those listed in the chapter, which are organs of societies and groups having special interests
16. Make a list of publications which are the organs of church groups.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What do you think of the propriety of ex-officials of the government becoming lobbyists and agents for private corporations? Why do you approve or disapprove of it?
2. Should the work of lobbyists be controlled or regulated in any way? If so, how?
3. Are lobbyists justified in resorting to any method to secure the ends which they seek? What limits, if any, would you place on their work?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. Have you ever signed or do you know people who have signed petitions to your city council, to your state legislature, or to Congress? What was requested in the petitions? Do you approve of using petitions?
2. Have citizens from your community appeared before legislative committees? When and for what reasons?
3. Make a list of special groups who maintain lobbies at your state capital. Make a similar list of groups represented in your community that maintain lobbies at the national capital. For what special pieces of legislation are these groups now working?

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Chapter 20 ORGANIZED GROUPS

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To acquaint the students with some organized groups
- 2 To examine the activities of these groups
- 3 To see how organized groups attempt to control government action

PEOPLE are attracted to one another and organize themselves into groups because of some common interest. These interests may exist in a common vocation, in a common religion, in a desire to promote welfare, or in some other laudable endeavor. In this chapter we shall attempt to consider some groups which have been organized to protect their interests and what they think are the interests of society, for membership in a particular group determines the attitudes which a man holds on current questions. Furthermore, we shall show how these organizations attempt and often succeed in controlling government action.

CONTROL BY VOCATIONAL GROUPS

Organizations of Farmers. While the farmers of the United States are rugged in their individualism nevertheless they have, at different times, formed organizations which have attempted to promote their interests. They have done this by attempting to

control legislation, by attempting to control appointments, and also by forming trading associations for the purchase of commodities. Other societies have been organized for the sale of their produce.

The Grange. The National Grange, often known as the Patrons of Husbandry, was founded soon after the Civil War, and achieved a large membership by the seventies, when it had secured nearly 1,000,000 members. Its reputed membership of recent years has ranged from 600,000 to 800,000. The membership now resides largely in the eastern states and many members are urban dwellers. It is probably the most conservative of the farm organizations in that its demands are not as extreme as those of other farm groups. The program of the Grange is well summarized in the address of its National Master, Louis J. Tabei, at the annual convention of the organization in 1932. Among other things he called for:

- (1) The withdrawal¹ from cultivation of millions of acres of marginal and sub-marginal land
- (2) The export at low prices of surplus farm produce, chiefly cereals and cotton
- (3) The extension of the government's activity in business to include benefits to agriculture.
- (4) The revision of the taxing system.
- (5) The improvement of the transportation system, both on highways and railroads, with special emphasis upon the consolidation² of railroad systems
- (6) Opposition to diversion of gas tax to any use except the maintenance of highways
- (7) Tariff adjustments beneficial to the farmer
- (8) A system of credits for financing farm enterprises

In the seventies and eighties of the last century the Grange promoted a program of control over the railroads, at a time when the Grangers thought the railroads were discriminating against the farmers in fixing railroad rates. This program of agitation resulted in setting up state commissions to regulate railroad rates. The operation of these state commissions marked the beginning of a

¹ This proposal is being acted upon by the Roosevelt Administration as a part of its Recovery Program.

² This is in harmony with the recommendations of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

demand for a federal commission which would regulate common carriers. This came in 1887 when the Interstate Commerce Commission was created. The Grange has been active not only in promoting legislation favorable to its members, but it has also engaged in schemes for co-operative marketing of products and for the purchase of commodities.

The Farmers' Union. The complete title of this organization is the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America. It has been in existence since 1902 when it was established in Texas. It had at one time as many as 140,000 members. Its chief strength lies in the states west of the Mississippi River. It has been organized to secure effective marketing of grain, wool, and other farm products. It has organized for the co-operative purchase of oil, coal, salt, and other commodities consumed by farmers. It has provided low cost fire insurance, life insurance, and automobile insurance for its members. It has promoted the interests of farmers through organization and agitation. John A. Simpson of Oklahoma and Milo Reno of Iowa have been the outstanding spokesmen of this organization in recent years. The Union is the most aggressive and the most radical of the farm organizations. It is class conscious in that it attempts to restrict its membership to men who are actually engaged in tilling the soil. The Union has been active in demanding various forms of legislation for the relief of farmers and the generally depressed agricultural situation. It has been active in attempting to prevent farm foreclosures and in some places has encouraged farm strikes. It has strongly advocated a revision of the taxing system, it has favored moratoriums on debts and mortgages, its leaders have urged the remonetization of silver and the issuance of United States Notes (Green Backs). The purpose of the Union may be understood from the statement of general objectives in its constitution, as follows:

- (1) Discouragement of the credit and mortgage system.
- (2) Assistance to members in buying and selling.
- (3) Promotion of scientific farming.
- (4) Elimination of gambling in farm products through Boards of Trade, Cotton Exchanges, and other speculators.

The Union gave its support to the agricultural relief bills of the

twenties in which legislative effort was made to dispose of the farm surplus in the foreign markets

The Farm Bureau The Farm Bureau in 1931 claimed 333,000 paying members Ten years earlier more than 1,000,000 farmers were supposed to have been affiliated It collects annual dues of \$5, \$10 or \$15, the amount varying in the different states In many ways it is the most effective of the farm organizations in securing results It has lobbied for protective legislation for the farmer and has advocated tariff schedules and tax revision favorable to its members It has also been active in the period following the World War, through its federal, state, and county organizations, in promoting farm relief legislation which would dispose of the national surpluses of wheat, corn, cotton, and other farm commodities It is credited with being responsible for the organization of the Farm Bloc in Congress—a group of legislators from the Republican, Democratic, and Farmer-Labor parties which held the balance of power in Congress for several years during the early twenties

The Bureau has been active in promoting the organization of co-operative societies for the sale of grain, cattle, and dairy products, and other co-operatives for the purchase of oil, feed, and other commodities. It has stimulated production through its farm advisers who give demonstrations on farm crops, and by conducting contests and exhibits of agricultural production Of all of the farm groups the Bureau comes nearest to being identified with the government in that the federal government pays a considerable part of maintaining the county organization The Bureau co-operates with the state and the federal governments in promoting the employment of county agents, of home bureau agents, of boys' and girls' club workers, and other extension workers It co-operates with the state agricultural colleges in attempting to improve agricultural production and marketing The Home Bureau, affiliated with the Farm Bureau, has been active in promoting better living conditions in farm homes by giving instruction in diet, child care, clothing selection, home decorations, and other similar fields of instruction

The American Farm Bureau Federation, in its annual meeting in 1933, passed resolutions placing the organization on record as favoring

- (1) The revaluation of the dollar as attempted by President Roosevelt
- (2) The extension of easy credit to farmers
- (3) Legislation preventing the sale of harmful drugs and cosmetics.
- (4) The use of American farm products in the distilling of liquor
- (5) The control of grain exchanges and the speculation in farm commodities
- (6) Opposition to government subsidies for carrying the mails and the return to a two-cent postage rate for first-class mail
- (7) The guarantee of bank deposits
- (8) The control of agricultural production
- (9) The encouragement of co-operative marketing facilities
- (10) Improvement of transportation for the benefit of farmers
- (11) The eradication of bovine tuberculosis
- (12) The control of utilities in the interest of lowering rates for the consumer
- (13) The extension of credit to Soviet Russia for the purchase of American agricultural produce
- (14) Opposition to the child labor amendment
- (15) Economy in government and revision of the taxing system

Organized Laborers. Laborers, both skilled and unskilled, organize to improve their working conditions as well as to secure better wages and fewer hours of work. While much of the official activity of organized laborers is spent in making demands upon their employers, nevertheless they are active in determining policies of government. They can always be counted upon to support legislation providing for the curbing of child labor. They have supported legislation for higher tariff rates, for all forms of social legislation, for the exclusion of European immigrants, for the more general extension of the public school system, together with many other pieces of legislation which would be beneficial to labor union members. The unions have generally supported any program which would require the expansion of the functions of government, even at the expense of increasing taxes. This is true of their support of

public schools, of welfare institutions, of parks and playgrounds, and of any other scheme thought to be beneficial to the masses of people (see Chapter 3)

Organized labor attempts to dictate political appointments. Union men have served as Secretary of Labor in the various cabinets. William B. Wilson, James J. Davis, and William Doak, who served in this position at different times, had labor union affiliations. It has not been uncommon to find union men in key positions in state governments. Furthermore, it is quite common for union officers and their representatives to prevent the appointment of persons as public officials who are thought to be unfriendly to their interests. This was well illustrated when President Hoover attempted to name Judge Parker to the United States Supreme Court. His confirmation was withheld by the United States Senate largely because of the opposition of labor leaders, as well as because of the opposition of Negro groups (see Chapter 7). William Green, John L. Lewis, and Sidney Hillman are among the labor leaders in our country who wield extensive influence in affairs of government.

The American Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L., with headquarters in Washington, consists of more than 100 national and international unions. Each of these has many local branches. There are local unions of carpenters, of bakers, of meat cutters, and approximately 100 other varieties of employment. In addition, in each state there is organized a State Federation of Labor.

Membership in the American Federation of Labor is recruited almost entirely from the skilled trades—masons, carpenters, plasterers, painters, barbers, bakers, musicians, and even teachers. The miners have the largest membership, at times exceeding 400,000. The Federation has been conservative in its policy of recruiting members and has until recently neglected the unionization of the semi-skilled and the unskilled. Workers in such industries as department stores, steel mills, slaughter houses, automobile factories, and many mines have not been unionized and affiliated with the Federation. The failure to organize these workers has been one of the chief weaknesses of the Federation's program. With several million additional members recruited from the less skilled workers it would unquestionably be able to exercise far greater political power than it has done. The Federation, at the peak of its power

in 1920, had more than 4,000,000 members. While this number constitutes a small part of the total number of workers in the United States, it illustrates the political power which an organization of this kind can have.

Politically the Federation has pursued a conservative policy from another viewpoint. Since its organization in the eighties it has refrained from affiliation with a political party. In this respect its policy has been different from the unions in Europe. On account of this condition the labor unions have attempted to secure from the political party in power the legislation which they wanted.

The Railroad Brotherhoods. There are, in addition to the American Federation of Labor, other unions which are separately organized. Of these the railroad brotherhoods are the best known and the most powerful. The four large brotherhoods—engineers, firemen, trainmen, and conductors—claim a membership of more than 400,000 workers. The brotherhoods have been active, by legislation and by agitation, in promoting better working conditions for themselves and indirectly better service for the public. The biggest single achievement of these organizations was their success in 1916 in securing the passage of the Adamson Act by Congress, a law which specified that no worker on an interstate railroad should work in excess of eight hours a day. The representatives of the brotherhoods have been interested for some time in promoting a more rigid control of the operation of busses and trucks on the highways. Furthermore, they have made an effort to secure the enactment of a national retirement plan for all railroad workers who have reached the age of sixty-five. One such law was passed by Congress but was held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court by a five to four decision.

Organized Employers. While laborers have been organized into unions, exercising their influence in controlling legislation and in negotiating with employers, the employers themselves have promoted organization activities with a view to opposing the demands of labor and also with a view to rendering their position secure against legislation or any other governmental action which might be injurious to them as a class. In the succeeding pages we shall point out some of the activities of some employing groups in attempting to control political action.

The Chambers of Commerce The Chambers of Commerce consist of associations of merchants and professional people whose purpose is the protection of the commercial interests of the community in which the chamber is organized. An association of this kind is likely to be found in every town or city of any considerable size. The local associations are affiliated with one another in state organizations and beyond these there exists the United States Chamber of Commerce. Nearly 1,000,000 persons, firms, and corporations are identified with the organization and it is, without question, the most influential group of business men attempting to bring its interests before government bodies.

The Chambers, local, state, or federal, can usually be counted upon to oppose any government action which they think harmful to the business interests of their members. Consequently, we find them opposing certain types of taxation which they think harmful to their business. Frequently we find them objecting to government ownership and operation of some type of business—chiefly public utilities. Generally they have lent their support to oppose the raising of wages as well as opposing any program of labor union organization. Many chambers have been unsympathetic toward any suggestion for farm legislation. At times local chambers have opposed certain public improvements on the grounds of economy. They are likely to oppose changes in taxation, in banking, and in currency legislation. Usually they are leaders in the movement to keep tax rates from being raised. The membership is certain to oppose any effort which the government exerts to control business, especially in such fields as maximum wages and minimum hours of employment, elimination of child labor, and the enactment of legislation covering workmen's compensation insurance, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and health insurance.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in its summary of the year's activities at the close of 1934, stated its position on many current questions of political importance. The Chamber

- (1) Favored a balanced federal budget and economy in government
- (2) Favored a liberalizing of the Securities Acts as passed

in 1933 and 1934 so that investments would be encouraged.

- (3) Favored the guaranteeing of bank deposits
- (4) Favored certain liberalization of the bankruptcy laws
- (5) Favored the establishment of reciprocal trade agreements between the United States and other countries in dealing with possible reductions in tariff rates
- (6) Favored placing greater responsibility for railroad rates upon the railroad managements with a view to having more competition among the carriers
- (7) Opposed government entering any field of business which can be conducted successfully by private enterprise
- (8) Opposed unemployment insurance which would tax payrolls, and favored plans whereby employers would voluntarily provide unemployment reserves
- (9) Opposed the thirty-hour work week bills
- (10) Opposed the suggested food, drug, and cosmetics bill

Associations of Manufacturers. The owners of manufacturing industries in the different states have organized themselves into associations for the protection of their interests. These associations attempt to prevent the passage of state and of federal legislation which would be harmful to them and encourage legislation which would be helpful to their members. The associations of manufacturers naturally, therefore, can be relied upon to oppose the proposals for corporation taxes, as well as proposals for levying income taxes. They have been known to oppose child labor legislation. They will fight to protect their industries from reduced tariff schedules on the products which they make, and to encourage a reduction of the tariff schedules on the raw materials which they use. The best known of these organizations is the National Association of Manufacturers which has been in existence since 1895. In 1907 this organization formed the National Council for Industrial Defense for the purpose of fighting labor legislation in Congress and in the state legislatures. The National Metal Trades' Association is another organization of manufacturers which limits its activity to a small part of the productive industry. The National Civic Federation, in existence since 1901, aims to seek the cooperation of employers, employees and the public in the interests

of industrial peace. During recent years it has been active in anti-radical and in anti-union agitation.

Associations of Bankers. Local clearing house associations, state bankers' associations, and the American Bankers' Association constitute the chief organizations of the bankers in preserving their interests. The American Bankers' Association has many thousands of members. These organizations attempt to protect their interests by securing more rigid legislation on the punishment of persons engaged in fraudulent banking practices. They associate to protect their institutions from robbery, from the passing of fraudulent checks, and from poor banking practices. Ordinarily the organization opposes any change in our banking practice as well as any proposals for monetary reform.

Trade Institutes. Some industries have organized institutes or other associations to protect the interests of the business in which they are engaged. These institutes sometimes carry on research but more frequently are given to spreading propaganda favorable to the members. The wool growers have such an organization, as do the producers of petroleum. The steel producers have associated themselves for mutual protection in the Iron and Steel Institute. The National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, recently renamed the Automobile Manufacturers Association, is an association of the leading manufacturers of automobiles with the exception of the Ford Motor Company. The electric industry once carried on an active program under the direction of the National Electric Light Association which has been reorganized under the name of the Edison Institute. The Illinois Committee on Public Utility Information and similar organizations in other states did this same type of work. These organizations have been active in disseminating news which would be favorable to their clients. They do this through speakers, through pamphlets, and sometimes through news articles in the newspapers.

Advocates of Economy. For a long time groups of citizens have advocated economy in government expenditures, but when the great financial depression began in 1929 these demands became more vigorous and better organized. The National Economy League and the National Organization for the Reduction of Public Expenditures are two of these organizations which have urged economy in public affairs. Other economizers, who wanted to see govern-

ment expenses reduced, have formed taxpayers' leagues. These league members were largely real estate owners and they wanted reductions in real estate taxes. Some of them gave their support to advocating new forms of taxation.

In addition to the taxpayers' leagues there are committees of citizens, the members of which are self-appointed. These committees work to reduce taxes and frequently the schools are singled out for the most rigid economy. In Chicago in 1932-1933 the Citizens' Committee, consisting of business men, advocated and secured the adoption of a policy to be followed in the administration of the public schools. At the same time the government of New York City was undergoing somewhat similar supervision from the bankers who were lending money to the city. Similar instances of control could be cited in many other cities and in some states.

Professional Groups In the United States we have many professional groups—doctors, lawyers, educators—who are eager to protect their professions from the activities of persons and organizations which would injure the standing of the members. The physicians, through the American Medical Association, founded in 1847, as well as through their state and county medical societies, see to it that the members of their profession are properly licensed to practice. They are eager to have laws passed which protect the public from the practice of persons whom they consider to be improperly educated and licensed. The medical societies have been quite willing to lend their support to the enactment of any legislation calling for the protection of the public against impure drugs as well as impure and unclean food and milk. Generally, too, the medical societies have supported state legislation providing for quarantine against communicable diseases as well as legislation providing for compulsory vaccination against small pox.

The lawyers, through the American Bar Association organized in 1878, as well as through their state and county bar associations, have had a decided influence on government. These associations have sought the enactment of legislation which might contribute to securing swift and speedy justice. They can generally be counted upon to oppose any new experiment in government. They have made efforts to secure young persons of ability and of character for their profession. They have sought to develop a uniform system of practice in the courts of the several states. The resolutions

of these legal societies on problems of government or in the field of the administration of justice usually carry considerable influence. The American Bar Association has had, at different times, more than 25,000 members.

The National Education Association, together with the state associations of teachers, exercise a marked influence on the shaping of educational policies. These associations have sought legislative action in opposing child labor, in securing larger appropriations for public education, in insisting upon a longer period of education for prospective teachers, in extending the length of the school term, in providing free textbooks and better school buildings, in attempting to secure tenure of position for the teachers, in urging a modernization of the taxing system—in brief, in advocating all of those things which, in their judgment, would contribute to the establishment of better schools and the formulation of a sound school policy. The activities of the educational associations are ably supported by such organizations as the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, organized in many communities under the name of the Parent-Teachers' Association.

CONTROL BY NON-VOCATIONAL GROUPS

There are, in addition to the vocational groups discussed in the preceding part of this chapter, many other groups which attempt to control government policies. Some of these groups aim to be "patriotic" in their character, others have a common race as the basis for organization, others aim at promoting world peace, others at temperance, others at public welfare, others at the promotion of liberty and freedom, others at the promotion of censorship, while others are organized to promote improvements in government.

The "Patriotic" Societies. In the absence of a more accurate name there are many organizations in the United States which might be described as "patriotic" in character—"patriotic" in the sense that these organizations usually support a strongly nationalistic program of government action. There are many of these organizations. They include the Daughters of the American Revolution, organized since 1890, with a membership of several hundred thousand. The Sons of the Revolution, eager to conserve the traditions of the past, constitute another of these societies. The same

can be said of the Grand Army of the Republic with a membership at one time totaling nearly 500,000 northern Civil War veterans. The United Spanish War Veterans and the Veterans of the Foreign Wars of the United States are other similar organizations. The American Legion, organized in 1919, is the largest and undoubtedly the most influential of any of these groups. The Legionnaires are men who are for the most part middle-aged. Because of their numbers, their age, and their effective organization they have been able to make many successful demands on the government and many of the members have been elected to public office because of the support which the Legion members have given them. The Soldiers' Bonus Act of 1924 was passed because of the Legion influence. The Legion, at the time of its membership campaign for 1935, presented a rather inclusive program of action to prospective members and to government officials as follows:

- (1) A strong national defense
- (2) A universal service law, providing that in war, capital, industry, and manpower shall be conscripted with special privileges and profits for none
- (3) A requirement that all aliens enjoying American benefits should bear arms in defense of America if the need arises
- (4) The deportation of every alien who cannot become a good American citizen
- (5) The payment of interallied debts
- (6) Withdrawal of recognition to Soviet Russia
- (7) Immediate payment of the soldiers' bonus
- (8) Protection of our educational system
- (9) Elimination of subversive influences from our institutions of learning
- (10) Promotion of child welfare, the abolition of child labor and the encouragement of healthy youth activities
- (11) Promotion of safety and elimination of traffic hazards on our highways
- (12) Protection of the interests of veterans, their widows and their orphans

The Sentinels of the Republic is one of the organizations which has carried on an active program of opposition to the ratification

of the child labor amendment to the federal Constitution. The National Security League, the Key Men of America, the Navy League of the United States, the American Defense Society, and the Better America Federation are organizations which have promoted military preparedness, while they have been active in the suppression of utterances and writings which they think objectionable.

These organizations often lend their support to such nationalist activities as tariff legislation, general programs of military preparedness, together with the support of the United States government in its intervention in other countries. Generally these organizations oppose any effort to criticize government policies and they are usually the first to give support to the government, chiefly in its dealings with other countries. However, some of them opposed the recognition of Russia by the United States. They have been active in opposing any socialistic or communistic schemes of government. These and other groups have often interested themselves in the problem of attempting to determine the things that should be taught in the public schools. Bessie L. Pierce¹ has summarized their influence in her scholarly monograph. All of these groups, because of their effective organizations, have exerted more influence on legislation and on the schools than the size of their membership would seem to justify. On many occasions these groups have been active in making known to posterity, through markers, tablets, and other insignia, the importance of historical persons, places, and events in our national life.

Peace Societies. While there are many organizations of a character which aim at being nationalistic there are other societies which want to promote, not only national security, but world fellowship. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which Jane Addams was president, the National Students Forum, which has opposed military training in schools, are representative of this group. Many of the peace societies are affiliated in an organization known as the National Council for the Prevention of War, with headquarters in Washington. This organization has been active in opposing programs of military expansion and in publicizing the peace movement.

The peace societies, as one would expect, have opposed increases

¹ *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*

in our army and navy, as well as in appropriations for military training in the schools. They have attempted to promote programs of disarmament, conferences for disarmament and for economic security, together with agitation by printed material and by speakers to attain these ends. They have lobbied against all proposed governmental action which they thought would be detrimental to world peace.

Racial Groups. There are, in the United States, several nationally organized groups which are active in providing legal protection to racial groups, chiefly Negroes. The most widely organized and most influential of these groups is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The national office of this organization is in New York, but it has branch societies in many cities where there are a number of Negroes residing. This organization attempts to prevent discriminations against Negroes and other people of color, and to some degree has been successful in securing legislation which would prevent various forms of discrimination. Its agents have investigated lynchings and the society has attempted to secure the passage of anti-lynching bills. Furthermore, the organization has attempted to secure legislation which would prevent discriminations against Negroes in theaters, restaurants, and public conveyances. Its leaders, W. E. B. DuBois, Walter White, James Weldon Johnson, William Pickens, and others, have been active through lectures and publications in attempting to make the Negroes conscious of the political power which the 12,000,000 of them could exercise if they were made aware of their numbers and influence. The National Urban League is another society which is attempting, in one way or another, to promote better opportunities for Negroes.

Organizations and the Liquor Traffic. Few issues in our country in recent decades have generated more political campaigning than that of the control of the liquor traffic. Societies have been organized to promote temperance in the use of alcoholic beverages and others to promote the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of the alcoholic products. The best known of these organizations are the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League. Both have been active over a long period of time in attempting to induce legislative bodies to provide for control of the liquor traffic. This control reached its height when the federal prohibition amendment was adopted.

Other societies have been organized with the view to opposing prohibition. The Association against the Prohibition Amendment and the Crusaders did more than all other groups to secure the repeal of the eighteenth amendment, as well as the legislation making the sale of liquors legal.

Censorship Groups. There are many societies which have been organized to promote the censorship of books, theatrical productions, magazines, motion pictures, and other forms of production. These organizations attempt to achieve their control by having legislative bodies pass laws forbidding the public presentation of anything which they deem obscene or indecent. The Watch and Ward Society in Boston has been active in securing laws against publishing or exhibiting indecent materials, and the arrest of persons guilty of such acts. In New York the Society for the Suppression of Vice has been active along the same lines. These societies have caused the arrest of many persons. Their opponents claim that they have exercised unnecessary vigilance over the artistic expressions of people. During 1934 the Legion of Decency achieved a place of prominence in American life through its efforts to purge the motion pictures of what this organization's promoters thought were objectionable features. The National Board of Review is an unofficial body which passes judgment on motion pictures. On the other hand the National Council on Freedom from Censorship has been organized by people of the theater, of the bar, of the press, and of other walks of life to oppose censorship activities.

Religious Groups. Religious groups have been active at times in promoting programs of legislation which they think desirable, and in otherwise influencing government action. The Methodist Board of Temperance and Public Morals, of which Clarence True Wilson is the leading spirit, promoted much legislation which it considered favorable and opposed other proposals which it thought harmful to American citizens. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has exerted influence on a variety of political issues. Bishop Francis J. McConnell and Daniel Poling are among the distinguished churchmen who have been identified with this organization. The National Catholic Welfare Conference, in which Father John A. Ryan has been active, is another group of religious workers attempting to promote the public welfare. In addition to

these organizations many of the church bodies have committees on social action which have given their support to programs covering such fields as child labor, social security, disaimament, and world peace.



Courtesy New York Herald Tribune Syndicate

GOVERNMENT BY PRESSURE

Societies Advocating Freedom There are several societies which have taken as their special sphere the advocacy of freedom for the individual as guaranteed largely under the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution. These guarantees cover freedom to worship, to speak, to assemble, to print, to bear arms, to petition the government, to have speedy trial by jury, and other funda-

mental guarantees It is claimed by some people that there have been many violations of these guarantees In order further to assure these rights the American Civil Liberties Union was organized during the period of the World War The persons who promote this organization have defended in the courts a wide variety of people for their beliefs and for their conduct—Catholics, Jews, Nazis, Negroes, Communists, aliens, members of the Ku Klux Klan, union members, strikers, picketers, and many other groups of people The organization wants the government to guarantee to all individuals a high order of freedom and protection The League for Industrial Democracy is another society which has been active in promoting what it thinks is the freedom of the individual—chiefly in the realm of labor disputes The International Labor Defense is an organization with radical labor connections which attempts to defend in the courts those laborers, accused of crimes, who otherwise might not be provided with an adequate defense The People's Lobby is an organization which attempts to encourage democracy by disseminating information on public questions and by lobbying for those propositions which it believes are in the public interest.

Welfare Organizations. Our country has a large number of societies and organizations which have small annual budgets out of which they carry on intensive programs, through speakers, conferences, pamphlets, and other publications, with a view to achieving some special purpose The National Child Labor Committee, as its name suggests, has encouraged legislation before the state legislatures which would raise the requirements, including that of age, for the employment of children in industry It further attempts to educate the public on the evils of early employment The National Probation Association aims to inform the public of the advantages of probation and parole in handling certain types of criminals It further assists legislative committees in drafting probation legislation by submitting model probation laws The National Recreation Association attempts to encourage city, county, and state governments to set up adequate recreational facilities This organization furnishes information on the recreational facilities available in American cities It provides service in advising cities and communities which want to expand or reorganize their recreational facilities The National Society for the Prevention of Blindness attempts

to interest schools and public health departments in sight-saving programs. It has encouraged the passage of legislation providing for the proper care of infants' eyes at the time of birth as well as encouraging the establishment of sight-saving facilities in schools. The American Social Hygiene Association is active in spreading information on the dangers of venereal diseases and also in encouraging a sane presentation of the problems of sex instruction to young people. Some of the many other organizations of this type include the National Consumers' League, the Child Welfare League of America, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, the National Child Welfare Association, the National Conference of Social Work, the Commonwealth Fund, and the American Home Economics Association.

The Women's Clubs. One organization of great importance in helping shape legislation and general government policy is the association of women's clubs. The first state organization of these clubs developed in Maine as early as 1892. Ordinarily the women's clubs are associated under the name of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The Federation claims several million members affiliated in about 13,000 clubs. Women's clubs usually have active legislative committees which attempt to encourage, through petitions, resolutions, and personal interviews with legislators, those types of legislation which they think beneficial to home, school, and community. Of course there are many small women's clubs in every community which are not identified with the General Federation. Usually these clubs do not participate in political agitation and lobbying.

One well-known club, the American Association of University Women, does take an active part in helping direct public policy, through the resolutions which it passes, the petitions which it submits, and the general influence which its members exert as active citizens. This association is nationally organized and recruits its members from women who have attended college.

The League of Women Voters. One of the most influential groups of women in our country is the National League of Women Voters. This organization, through its local, state, and federal machinery, has contributed much to the shaping of legislation. Its conferences, bulletins, and general organization work have contributed much to the enlightenment of women in the field of govern-

ment and thus, ultimately, to the control of government policies in such fields as taxation, apportionment of representation, state and federal budgets, child welfare, social hygiene, education, efficiency in government, and the enlargement of the legal rights of women. The National League of Women Voters has been associated with other women's organizations in the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. To illustrate the scope of the lobbying enterprises of these groups we need only to cite that support has been given to the following government proposals: the World Court, maternity and infancy hygiene legislation, a federal department of education, adequate appropriations to the Children's Bureau and to the Women's Bureau, reclassification of the Civil Service, and legislation dealing with unemployment.

Groups Promoting Improved Government. While many of the above-mentioned groups have as a part of their activities the improvement of the government, there are other societies and organizations in the United States which exist primarily for this purpose. The National Municipal League is one of these. It attempts to improve standards of city government by suggesting model budgets, ordinances, administrative organization, and various other phases of activity dealing with municipal politics. The Legislative Voters' League gives interested citizens and voters information on the voting records of members of state legislatures, especially with a view to assisting the voter in knowing whether the legislator has voted for the general public interest or whether he has supported some limited and special interest. The City Affairs Committee of New York City, directed largely by Paul Blanchard, has been active in recent years in uncovering graft and mismanagement in the government of that city. The work of this group of public-spirited citizens paved the way for the election of Mayor LaGuardia in 1933. The importance of this organization was recognized by LaGuardia when he named Blanchard to the position of Commissioner of Accounts in his administration, thereby giving him authority over all city expenditures. In Philadelphia the Town Meeting Party has battled for civic righteousness while in Chicago much energy has been spent in organizing opinion in favor of the creation of a regional government. The American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology is an organization, which, as its title suggests, is devoted to the cause of improving the administra-

tion of criminal justice The Proportional Representation League has been active in promoting the plan of proportional representation in government The Foreign Policy Association has been active in disseminating information in the field of international relations and especially the relation of the United States to other countries The League of Nations Association, as its name implies, is concerned with promoting an intelligent understanding in the United States of the work of the League of Nations The League for Independent Political Action, in which John Dewey has been an active worker, has attempted to encourage the organization of a third major political party in our country with a view to offering a constructive policy of reform to the American voters The Russell Sage Foundation, through its Division of Surveys and Exhibits, has greatly influenced living conditions in cities as a result of the surveys of urban life which it has made These are only some of the many organizations which are interested in promoting some phase of improvement in government

Government Bureaus Influencing Government. In addition to these non-governmental organizations and agencies which attempt to improve the quality of government service, we have many departments, bureaus, and commissions within the government which attempt to shape opinion as well as secure government action The War Department, through its encouragement of units of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in schools and colleges and also through its summer Citizens' Military Training Camps, has attempted to shape opinion in favor of military preparedness The Pure Food and Drugs Administration, while vested with the task of enforcing legislation in its field, has strongly endorsed further legislation as a means of protecting the public from drugs and foods which are either actually injurious or do not possess the qualities which are claimed for them The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor has urged legislation preventing the employment of young children in industry Furthermore, it has advocated maternity legislation for providing certain care for mothers and infants Tax commissions of our states usually urge drastic changes in our taxing systems, departments of education urge better legislation in behalf of schools, conservation departments strongly urge programs of reforestation and other forms of conser-

vation of natural resources; agricultural departments advocate the enactment of legislation providing for an intelligent control of plant and animal diseases, health departments carry on extensive campaigns to arouse the public to demand more effective legislation dealing with the the control of human diseases. We can safely conclude that much of the leadership for improved government comes from government bureaus, commissions, and departments. This is certainly as it should be, for one of the important functions of government should be the improving of its services to the citizens. However, the citizen should see that a proper balance is maintained among the various government services.

Minorities in a Democracy It is necessary to remind the reader that the societies and organizations referred to in this chapter do not by any means exhaust the list of such organizations which might be included. These are merely illustrative of the many types of groups which exist. While the list is not complete, one should be aware of this general tendency of private and public bodies to attempt to control government action. Furthermore, one should be able to detect the special interests which some of these organizations have in advocating certain types of legislation.

Each of these groups, when considered as against all of the other groups which want some favor from the government, simply constitutes a small minority of all the people. As we learn more about the actual operation of government we shall recognize that governments formulate a policy which represents a common judgment of a considerable number of groups in society. It is quite true that democracy functions through bodies of citizens clamoring for the things they want, often at the expense of other groups.

The Need for Experts. The material in the last two chapters should make it clear that organized government, in order to pursue an intelligent course of action, should not rely too much on any one of these groups for information and guidance. Instead, to offset the selfish special interests which some of them may have, the government will have to enlist the services of experts who have the ability to sift truth from error, and who should aid in formulating policies in the interest of all citizens. Experts are now attached to the different commissions and departments of government. These experts must eventually be used not only in the admin-

istrative side of government but in determining policy as well. That they have been used in the determination of policies of government is reflected in the work of the Roosevelt Recovery program. Experts were consulted and were largely responsible for drafting legislation dealing with investments, currency, agriculture, public relief, housing, public works, and industrial recovery. The expert is destined to exert a larger influence in the future than he has in the past.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

1. Why do farmers organize? Explain the work of the National Grange. What are some of the things they hope to secure for the farmer?
2. What are the objectives of the Farmers' Union?
3. Compare and contrast the Farm Bureau with the Grange and the Farmers' Union.
4. Discuss the work of the American Federation of Labor and the other labor union groups. In what important political aspect do labor organizations in this country differ from those in Europe?
5. For what purpose do business men organize?
6. What is the work of the Chamber of Commerce? For what has it stood?
7. What has been the program of associations of manufacturers?
8. For what reasons have bankers organized?
9. Name some of the trade institutes. What are the activities of these institutes?
10. What organizations have advocated economy in government? Explain their work.
11. What services have professional groups rendered society?
12. Explain the activities of "patriotic" societies. What is the present program of the American Legion?
13. In what respect does the work of peace societies differ from that of the "patriotic" group? Wherein are their ideals similar?
14. Explain the work of censorship groups and those advocating freedom. Criticize each group, both pro and con.
15. What are some of the welfare organizations? Explain the type of work they do.
16. What are the general purposes of the Women's Clubs? Name some of the most prominent of them.
17. What types of work do the groups promoting good government do?

- 18 In what ways do organizations within the government promote improved government? Criticize their activities
- 19 What should be the attitude of citizens toward the minority groups discussed in this chapter?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Report on the investigations of the Federal Trade Commission in which there was revealed the influence of the electric utilities on the press, on women's clubs, on politicians, and public officials, and on the schools
- 2 Which of the organizations named in this chapter, in your judgment, are most interested in the welfare of the people as a whole? Give reasons
- 3 Do you know of any occasions where public meetings have been interrupted or prevented by any organization or society? Give some details of the event. Are these interferences justifiable? Give reasons

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Report on the work of the various farm organizations in your state and in your community. In what activities are they engaged? How do they influence government action?
- 2 Learn what you can of the Federation of Labor in your state? What political proposals has it supported? What is its attitude toward public education, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, widows' pensions, the six-hour day? In your community do organized labor groups openly endorse candidates for public office? If so, how do they do it?
- 3 Report on the membership, purposes, and activities of your local chamber of commerce. What support or what opposition has it given to proposals by local authorities, either city, county, or school?
- 4 What has the bar association of your county or state done in recent years which has had political significance? The county or state medical society?
- 5 Does your community have a women's club which is identified with the General Federation of Women's clubs? What does this club do? Can you secure a schedule of the programs which have been given recently? What public projects has the club endorsed? Investigate the work done in your state and in your community by the League of Women Voters
- 6 How does the American Legion influence government action in your state? In the nation? What activities does it promote in your community?

- 7 How, if at all, do any of the welfare organizations named in this chapter affect your community and your state?

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Chapter 21 MOLDING OPINION

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

1. To explain the nature of public opinion
2. To show how it is developed
3. To consider the work of the agencies creating public opinion

IN THE last two chapters we traced the influence exerted on the government through lobbyists by organized groups of citizens. This influence is used almost entirely on the legislative branch of the government, from which the groups expect special favors in the form of legislation. In this chapter we shall show what public opinion is and how public opinion, for or against a proposition, is often created. In the latter half of the chapter the machinery of public opinion—press, radio, movie, public discussion, the universities, and research foundations will be considered.

WHAT IS PUBLIC OPINION?

Nature of Public Opinion. Public opinion is a phenomenon which is rather difficult to study because it is a force which is not readily observed. We cannot touch it. Neither can we see it in operation unless we study its nature, the factors which produce it, the agencies which create it, and the methods which are employed by these agencies in developing it.

Public opinion is the mind of the group in action. It has its origin in one of many sources—a common fear, a common ideal, an ambition, a common wish. The native-born Americans, because of economic competition, may fear the foreign-born. They may not know why they fear them but, if they fear them, it is easy to develop opinion against them. The Protestants may fear the Catholics with the result that we have not had a Catholic President in the United States. Organized laborers are ambitious to educate their children and hence they favor public education. The western farmers may have a strong antipathy toward eastern bankers, and so the East and the West have been traditional opponents of each other in politics. The pacifists are more trustful of the people of other nations than are those who stand out strongly for military preparedness.

We may safely conclude that people usually dislike and fear the ideas and the groups which they don't know. Those of us who have never known or lived near the foreign-born are likely to dislike them. We dislike the people of different religious beliefs because we have never examined their doctrines. We look askance at any group that is reputed to hold views different from ours. While our likes and dislikes have much to do in shaping the opinion of our group, we need to recognize that our opinions are largely the product of our social and our economic position in society. It is also important to note that if any one asked what public opinion in the United States was on any question it would be impossible to say, because on every question there are opinions for and against.

Hysterias. One of the most interesting aspects of public opinion is the highly emotional reactions of people to questions and conditions of public concern. Movements of people are often accompanied and even encouraged by hysterias. This is especially true when people move into a new country or when an area is in the process of developing. Florida in the nineteen twenties felt this force, and thousands of people were attracted by the urge to make some easy money in rising land values. It has accompanied the settlements on the frontier throughout our history when people went West with the greatest enthusiasm. It was the basis for the excessive prices paid for farm land in the Middle West during the period of the World War, when land for corn production rose to

\$500 and \$600 an acre and persons declared that it would rise to \$1,000 an acre

These hysterical reactions are often violent in their nature or result in violence. Hysteria, operating in conjunction with race prejudice, is one cause of America's race riots. It is the force which encourages lynchings and other forms of violence. It is represented during war times in a variety of forms. During such times people become extraordinarily patriotic, they distrust their neighbors, they do violence to their acquaintances, they brand as "yellow" and as treasonable the acts of people with whom they disagree. Hysteria produces legislation which makes criticism of the government, or even the uttering of seemingly radical ideas, a penal offense. Hysteria arises from excessive nervous strain to which people are subjected. It really solves no problems and makes no contribution to the order and the welfare of society.

Importance of Public Opinion. Those who understand the operation of government must realize that a proposal can be successful only when the opinion of the population strongly endorses the action. Thus we find the eighteenth amendment was repealed because an active and aggressive minority, convinced that the amendment was contrary to right policy, developed opinion against it. We find legislation passed by Congress following the World War to curtail immigration because the American people came to believe that immigration was harmful to American interests. We find Congress reasonably willing to pass legislation favorable to ex-service men because large numbers of veterans were able to develop much opinion in their favor. Congress was willing to pass legislation favorable to farmers when the forces demanding farm legislation were effectively organized. Politicians, who spurned the idea of granting suffrage to women, willingly embraced the proposition when they saw that a "ground swell" was developing in favor of extending the suffrage. Every man in public life knows that his schemes must be approved by the public if he is to succeed. Every politician knows that he would do well to "get in line" with the propositions for which opinion has been created.

METHODS OF CREATING OPINION

Many Methods Employed. We shall explain some of the processes which are used by candidates, by political parties, and

by interested groups to arouse people to approve or to reject a plan of governmental action, to elect or defeat a candidate for political office, to accept or discredit a political proposal. There are many methods, and many times a combination of methods is used. The skillful manipulator of opinion is certain to vary his methods with the time, the event, and the people with whom he deals. If he uses the same device or stunt for all occasions the public can readily detect the misrepresentation. The job of a publicity manager is to shape opinion. It often happens that he must fool people in order to do this. We shall turn now to some of the methods employed in shaping opinion.

Coloring the News The newspaper reader must learn that the press associations¹ which gather the news and transmit it to the newspapers, and the reporters who are employed by the papers are likely to commit four breaches against society, any one of which is likely to be a serious matter. They are

(1) The reporting agencies may be in error about the news. Probably the greatest mistake ever made in transmitting the news was that of reporting the signing of the Armistice four days before it was actually signed. The *New York World* used to stand by the slogan "if it's in the World, it's true," but even this discriminating paper often made mistakes in reporting news.

(2) They may print some of the facts pertaining to an issue and neglect other important facts. There are many examples of this, but one illustration will suffice. In February, 1934, one of the press associations and many of its member papers gave wide publicity to the fact that President Butler of Columbia University and ex-President Lowell of Harvard University expressed opposition to the ratification of the child labor amendment which was then pending before the state legislatures. While printing this news they failed, maybe intentionally, to mention that the President of the United States, the same week, had issued a statement favoring ratification of the amendment.

(3) The agencies transmitting the news may intentionally color it so as to give the public impressions which are far from being the truth in the case. This may be well illustrated by the statement of one reputable newspaper man who claimed, from his experiences

¹ The Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service

in Italy during the early part of the Fascist dictatorship, that there were only two daily papers in the United States which were printing the truth about the Fascists. The reader will soon learn that such journals of opinion as *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The Outlook*, and *The Christian Century* are certain to print editorial comment on many questions of public policy which the daily press ignores in printing the news.

(4) Frequently news is colored by misleading headlines. The person who achieves the least discrimination in reading papers will have learned that the headlines usually give only a small part of the news, and often inaccurately, to say nothing of the fact that the headlines usually feature the most spectacular and dramatic parts of the news story.

There are many channels in which it is claimed that the news is colored, either by the prejudice of the writer, or more extensively by the influence which is brought to bear upon the writer and the news association for which he works, by organizations and forces which are unseen to the public. The Negroes, critical of white newspapers, are convinced that crimes by Negroes are given more publicity than they deserve. Some papers, despite their claims of truthful reporting, cannot be relied upon to record the news in the international field. Every country has its nationalist press which is more interested in promoting national prejudices than in presenting the truth. A further illustration of coloring news exists in the tendency for the newspapers to discredit the efficiency of the government's work. The schools, too, come in for a large amount of colored news, especially in times when an effort is made to economize on school expenditures. The behavior of students, the opinions and utterances of teachers and professors, together with the reputed cost of education, receive more adverse publicity than they deserve.

Sloganizing. Slogans are devices which are frequently employed to popularize a cause. An effective slogan is a powerful instrument in shaping opinion and in securing a particular type of action. During the early years of the present century citizens were appealed to by one political party on the grounds of "equal rights for all and special privileges to none." At about the same time politicians promised "a full dinner pail" to all citizens if their party were returned to power. The Spanish-American War was

SOME HISTORICAL AMERICAN POLITICAL SLOGANS



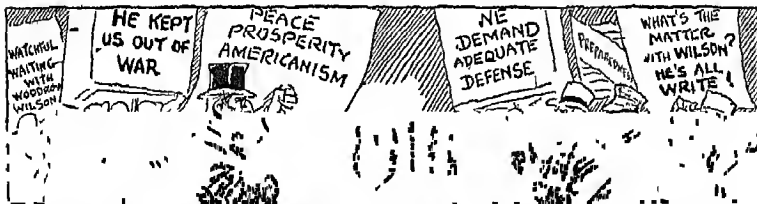
The presidential campaign of 1896 was a bitterly fought and fiery one with some striking slogans



In 1908 Taft was elected to carry out the Roosevelt policies They were carried out to the alley



The three cornered campaign of 1912 was one of the most colorful ones It blossomed with slogans



In 1918 President Wilson used the "He kept us out of war" slogan to secure his victory



Nineteen twenty saw the Wilson internationalism issues overwhelmed in defeat
Courtesy Chicago Tribune-New York News Syndicate

popularized by "Remember the Maine" Woodrow Wilson's "to make the world safe for democracy" was uttered by millions of people to justify our entrance into the World War. In the presidential campaign of 1920 Warren G. Harding suggested that "we return to normalcy." Four years later the American people were admonished to "keep cool with Coolidge" while in 1928 Herbert Hoover must have convinced the voters of our "prosperity" when he spoke of "two chickens in every pot and two cars in every garage." Franklin Roosevelt in 1932, without presenting any details as to what he would do if elected to office, assured the voters of "a new deal" and appealed for help for "the forgotten man." During the early twenties, in opposing European immigration, citizens were urged to "keep America American" and also to keep it "100 per cent American," while politicians who had little of a constructive program to offer the voters appealed to the feelings of citizens with a slogan of "America First." Some people are fond of telling us that "that government is best that governs least" and that what our country needs is "more business in government and less government in business." Slogans are effective devices for securing votes and every politician finds it almost necessary to use them. However, they are not reliable material on which to base action if the citizen is to enjoy a satisfactory government.

There are other slogans besides the ones used in politics. Modern business, through the medium of advertising, assures us that certain soap produces "the skin you love to touch," while certain cigarettes "satisfy." Another brand of soap "floats," while an automobile advertisement assures us of "economical transportation." Slogans in modern life can be counted by the hundreds. We live largely by slogans, but one should wonder if it is wise to do so.

Calling Names. One of the most commonly used devices by which we shape opinion is that of calling names. If the proposal is branded as "socialistic," "communistic," or " bolshevistic" the persons who do the naming are likely to want to discredit it. These terms were given to the various phases of the Roosevelt Recovery Program by people who wanted to belittle it. To call a man "red" or "pink" or "radical" is to discredit him and his ideas with many persons. Jane Addams, the founder of Hull House, a leader in promoting world fellowship and one of America's most useful citizens for a generation, has been branded with such names.

Thomas Paine, in many ways the promoter of the American Revolution, was discredited because his enemies called him an "atheist." Woodrow Wilson was known to his enemies as a "theorist" and as an "idealist," the implication being that he was not a man of the world and could not be trusted. "Conservative" may be complimentary or uncomplimentary, depending upon the views of the person hearing it. "Reactionary" and "Bourbon" are likely to be terms of reproach. Following the title of the novel by Sinclair Lewis some refer with contempt to one class of citizens as "Babbits." Tory and Whig, the names of British political parties of earlier centuries, were originally terms of opprobrium. Some newspapers refer to the "Brain Trust" as though the well-trained men in the government service were incompetent theorists. In theology the "modernists" have been in competition with the "fundamentalists" and a journalist refers to the "Bible Belt" as the area in which the latter group lives. Calling names is a most unfortunate practice. Only the uncritical and the uninformed engage in it or are influenced by it.

Playing on Fears. There are those who seek to shape the opinion of society and secure action by playing on the fears of people. Many Americans have had an actual fear of lowering the tariff and one of the major political parties has at times played upon that fear. The appeal has been especially strong to the farmers who are urged to vote for protection on the theory that the protective tariff makes them prosperous. These fears were lessened somewhat during the depression when the American people saw wheat fall to a price lower than the tariff which is charged for importing it. Herbert Hoover, while campaigning for President, appealed to the cattle owners for support by picturing thousands of Mexican cattle on the border ready to be shipped into the United States should this country lower the tariff on cattle. We have feared the Socialists even though many of their ideas, including such things as the income tax, direct election of United States Senators, and public ownership of some utilities, have come to be thought of as basic in our society and government. We have had fears of the modern Russians, and the failure of our government to recognize Russia in the years from 1917 to 1933 evidences that fear. We have fears of the Negroes, of the foreign-born, and of the Jews. We have exaggerated notions of their numbers and groundless

fears of what they might do if more of them held public office. The politician appealing for votes in the rural areas exaggerates fear of the dangers of being outvoted by the people in the large cities, who, too often, are pictured as being quite wicked and incapable of governing themselves. Urban citizens, very frequently, are convinced that the people who live in the rural areas are certain to take advantage of them in politics. Candidates for public office have been known to tell the electorate that if their opponents are elected grass will grow in the streets and the sources of income will disappear. If we were thoroughly informed about the different groups which we fear and the ideas which we distrust we would fear them less than we do.

Diverting Attention. In politics public opinion is often controlled by diverting attention from one issue which is important to another issue which is made to seem important. A presidential candidate in 1920 proposed membership for the United States in an Association of Nations instead of the League of Nations. Needless to say the Association of Nations never developed. One candidate for Mayor of a large city campaigned on a platform of a five-cent subway fare when the city finances were in a serious condition. The Mayor of another large city, when several important questions were pending on which he did not care to take public action, imported a famous general as police commissioner who was expected to clean up the city, thus diverting the people's attention. The raids and the energetic activity of the general received much publicity. The Mayors of two large cities, when confronted with a number of problems and when their power over their political machines was slipping, carried on a censorship of the history books of the public schools. Every practical politician knows the art of using the "Red Herring."¹ Every well-informed citizen should know how the "Red Herring" is used and should be able to detect it when it is employed.

Propaganda. Propaganda is a kind of advertising, which, by subtle suggestions or by part truths, aims to shape opinion in favor of the person or thing to be promoted. The advertising need not be paid for in the newspapers. The ends of propaganda can be

¹The "Red Herring" is the practice of using some publicity feature to divert attention from the political problems which are pressing and need solution.

served much more effectively by cleverly written news stories or by magazine articles. Thus a candidate for President, for Governor, or even for United States Senator must have much favorable publicity if the voters are to warm up to his candidacy. He should be pictured¹ with his family, on his way to church, buying a Red Cross membership, fishing, playing golf, or hunting. It will not hurt his prospects if he is reputed to like dogs and horses and enjoy the companionship of little children. He should pretend that he enjoys the out-of-doors, and he might be pictured in his library, if he has one, engaged in working over books, documents, and papers. However, he can easily go too far in this direction, for it is better for the public to think of him as a good fellow than as a scholar. He should be reputed to be a person of strong human impulses, in sympathy with the masses of people and ready to defend them at every turn. He should be a strong man in the estimate of his fellows and not too talkative. Calvin Coolidge was supposed to have been a silent man, yet no President has ever made so many public addresses.² The ideal candidate should probably not be excessively wealthy, or at least his extreme wealth should not be made known, and it would not hurt his political prospects if he were born in humble circumstances, even orphaned, and were a self-made man, for the admiration of rugged individualism runs strongly in our feelings. Frank R. Kent,³ a competent writer on political questions, tells of the humbuggery in political campaigns when he writes:

No candidate and no campaign are exactly what they seem. The part that is open and aboveboard is always less vital than the part that is secret. The voters see the public performance but not the rehearsal. They completely lack information of the real moves by which the candidate becomes a candidate. They are in the dark as to how the issues are evolved and why, when, and by whom. They see and know nothing until the curtain goes up and there before them is the smiling candidate, playing his part in complete make-up and wearing a full set of false whiskers.

In most cases the deceptions are deliberate, the stage is carefully set, the scenery selected, and the lights chosen to convey to the voters an

¹ Newspaper men have come to refer to such photographs as "baloney pictures."

² See *New Republic*, 47:51-54, June 2, 1926.

³ *The Great Game of Politics*, copyright 1923, 1930, pp. 195-96. Reprinted by permission of Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc.

impression only partly real. Often the candidate is a natural demagogue and faker, often he is at heart an honest and courageous man, but, whatever his type or character, when he goes before the voters he loses frankness and lacks candor. He partly smothers his convictions and compromises with his conscience. He is under restraint—even the best of them—and there are things about himself—his views, his purposes, his campaign and the inception of his candidacy—that he cannot and does not tell. This applies to candidates who run as independents just as much as it does to those of the recognized political parties.

This is not a favorable estimate of candidates for political office. At best they are probably as frank, as honest, and as open as the citizens will allow them to be.

While this is true of politicians it is also true of others who appear before the public. Movie actresses, in order to have a following, must have favorable publicity. A reputed love of the classics or an ability to bake excellent pan cakes might cause many persons to admire the work of the person who is the beneficiary of the publicity. Not many years ago a noted prize fighter was invited to Yale University by one of the professors of English, and the newspapers told us that he lectured to the professor's class on Shakespeare. This was good publicity even though the lectures might not have been of a superior quality. Jazz kings are publicized as having distinctive qualities, as are baseball players, and all other persons who depend upon the public for approval.

Propaganda is employed not only in advancing the prospects of candidates for public office but also in promoting the financial interests of any person or any movement which has contact with the public. Magazine articles of a laudatory type have presented the wisdom, the ability, and the rise to prominence of industrial magnates, railroad presidents, and bankers. Sentimental stories are related about how these men overcame handicaps and hardships and how they battled their way to fame and position. Even biographies of this character have been written to propagandize in favor of a person and the interests which he represents.

Persuasion. The most ethical and the most intellectual method of shaping opinion is that which arises from persuasion of people by presenting facts, by reasoning with them, and by citing authorities. One hears complaints about the special privileges which exist under the American system of government, but there is nothing as eloquent as the facts deduced from investigations (see Chapters 7 and

15) by the United States Senate to convince us of these facts. We can complain about the inefficiency of government, but when we observe the great variety of work done by employees of the United States government and even by many of the state and city governments we realize that governments do many things well.



Courtesy St. Louis Post Dispatch

GOVERNMENT BY PRESSURE

Persuasion makes it possible to appeal to a man's reason rather than to his fears, prejudices, and traditional conduct. If we could educate people to rely upon persuasive arguments rather than upon slogans and name calling for reaching their decisions, we might achieve democratic government in the best sense and the citizen would make distinct gains for himself and his community. Our educational system, this course, and this book you are now studying, together with many other features of the public school sys-

tem, are provided to help you as a citizen to evaluate critically the propositions which confront you for solution. The success with which citizens solve the many problems of democratic living depends entirely upon the ability of the masses of people to gather facts and to draw conclusions from the facts. The success of democracy depends upon an appeal to the intellect.

TOOLS FOR SHAPING OPINION

Now that we have considered the processes by which opinion is created and shaped it will be necessary to consider some of the many devices which are used to create opinion. Some of these are the press, the radio, the motion picture, the public platform, the church, the schools and universities, and the research foundations.

Importance of the Newspaper. The newspaper is an important agency by which opinion on public questions is shaped. This is true partly because of the large circulation which metropolitan dailies and low priced weeklies enjoy. It is not uncommon in these times for a publication to boast of a million circulation and some claim two million or more. The newspaper or magazine is important also because many people have a respect for statements which are printed. This means that many persons, not critical in their judgments, are likely to accept as true anything which the press prints. The press, like all phases of life in recent decades, has come to be dominated more and more by city conditions. The small rural weekly paper exerts less influence on the thinking of the American people than it did a few decades ago. The citizens of small cities and even of the open country rely more and more upon metropolitan papers for the news. The influence of the press is significant therefore because of the increasing tendency for it to become urbanized.

Financial Control of the Press. There is much evidence to support the position that the press, in recent decades, has become primarily a business enterprise which is interested in selling advertising at the highest rates. As a consequence of this the newspaper publishers are interested in pleasing the advertisers. Coloring the news or failing to print certain news is consistent with the plan to satisfy the advertisers. This is well illustrated by the letter written

by Frank B Kellogg¹ to one of his newspaper friends when the Standard Oil Company was being investigated. He wrote: "Your friend Melville E Stone² is controlled absolutely by the Standard Oil people. He will not, of course, send out any reports of the testimony that he is not obliged to, at least that is my opinion from all I have seen." That financial interests have a strong control on the press is shown in the fact that in one western city a Republican and a Democratic paper were owned by the same mining company. In an eastern city all four papers, two Republicans, one Democratic, and one Independent are owned by one company. One authority has said that Henry Ford could have purchased the sixty daily papers in Michigan, with the exception of the rich *Detroit News*, with but a portion of one year's income. It is certain that the press is controlled in many cases by financial interests which may not be concerned with the public interest.

The Obligations of the Press. The press, despite the advertisers, has certain obligations to fulfill to the public. It should aim to report news fully and truthfully without prejudice toward any group or class. It should leave its columns open for a reasonable amount of comment by its readers on public questions. It should follow a policy of intelligent and constructively critical editorial comment on public questions. Furthermore, it should open its columns to a variety of feature stories on the theater, music, the movies, public health, public education, and other allied activities. It should lead in the creation of opinion favorable to every worthy community enterprise. Briefly, it should be dedicated to the public service. When Joseph Pulitzer bought the *New York World* he stated its policy as follows:

An institution that should always fight for progress and reform, never tolerate injustice or corruption, always fight demagogues of all parties, never belong to any party, always oppose privileged classes and public plunderers, never lack sympathy with the poor, always remain devoted to the public welfare, never be satisfied with merely printing news, always be diastically independent, never be afraid to attack wrong, whether by predatory plutocracy or by predatory poverty.

Such a statement of program might be taken as the policy for any newspaper, but it constitutes the policy of only a few of them.

¹ *The Nation*, 130:444, April 16, 1930.

² Melville E Stone was, at the time the letter was written (1908), president of the Associated Press.

The newspapers are in a position to render fine public service. Sometimes this is done. The Hearst papers are to be complimented for their stand in supporting public education during the depression, when many persons wanted to economize at the expense of the schools. The Scripps-Howard papers have often taken an enlightened and forward looking stand on many public issues. The reporting on Russia of Walter Duranty in the *New York Times* is thought by some persons to have contributed greatly to a change of attitude in the United States toward our government's recognition of Russia. The Pulitzer Prizes, awarded each year, among other things, for the best editorial, the best news reporting, and the best cartoon, do much to secure desirable newspaper standards. The cartoon is probably the most effective instrument for shaping opinion which the press uses. The person who is studying public questions should be familiar with the work of some of the outstanding cartoonists. Fitzpatrick, Rollin Kirby, McCutcheon, Wortman, and Herbert Johnson are some of the many cartoonists whose work the reader might know.

However, in all cases newspapers do not render a fine service to the public. Too often they tune their news reports and their editorial policy so that no one is really displeased, thereby appealing to the prejudice of the crowd. In order to satisfy its advertisers and also its critical readers the newspaper too often tries to be all things to all people. Thus the reader is able to find in his paper the ideas which fit his prejudices.

Consolidation of Papers In spite of an increasing population, of the increased circulation of newspapers, together with the better facilities for distributing papers, the number of newspapers is not increasing rapidly. The weekly newspapers are declining in number—some of them going out of business entirely while others become dailies. Total circulation of all newspapers, however, is increasing. This condition is due to a number of factors. Costly machinery used in printing of newspapers limits the number of papers which can exist and also places a premium upon mass circulation. Syndicated articles and memberships in press associations are also costly. The struggle for advertising gives an advantage to the paper which has a vigorous policy of soliciting advertising.

All of these factors tend to bring about consolidations and combinations of papers. Small cities that formerly had two papers

now have one. Larger cities which once had several morning and several evening papers now maybe have one of each. Chicago, with its millions of people, relies upon two morning papers and Philadelphia with a half dozen excellent morning papers a generation ago now has only two papers in this field. In New York newspaper mergers have been frequent, the *Herald* and the *Tribune* merging more than a decade ago, to be followed several years later by the *World* and the *Telegram*.

Newspaper Chains The consolidation of papers is intimately associated with newspaper chains. A chain consists of two or more papers owned and managed by the same person or corporation. There are more than fifty chains of newspapers in the United States. These control more than 300 papers with a circulation which amounts to almost half of the total newspaper circulation. The Scripps-Howard chain has twenty-five papers in it, the Hearst has twenty-four. These chains own papers located in all parts of the United States. The Gannett chain of sixteen papers is located chiefly in New York. The Copley chain centers in California, while the Howe chain controls papers chiefly in Texas.

It is important for the reader to know of the chain influence because the person who controls a chain is certain to shape its editorial and news policy. Thus William Randolph Hearst, because of his ownership of many metropolitan dailies, is an important figure in American public life, even though some people may never have heard of him. Roy Howard and others interested in the Scripps-Howard group are equally important persons when it comes to shaping opinion. David Stein, once the owner of two small papers in Camden, New Jersey, is rapidly becoming a national figure in the newspaper world as the result of his purchase of the Philadelphia *Record* and later of the New York *Evening Post*.

Press Associations. The Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service, and the Federated Press are the associations which provide the facilities for gathering the news and for distributing it to papers. In 1930 the largest of these associations, the Associated Press, had 3,300 employees gathering and dispatching news for the 1,250 papers serviced by this organization.

The press associations wield a powerful influence in shaping opinion. Whether the news they circulate is correctly or incorrectly

reported, it goes to hundreds of papers and is read by millions of citizens. While the press associations have made gains for the people by gathering news from all corners of the earth, the public has lost, no doubt, because of the manner in which the news may be colored in order to satisfy special interests. It is almost safe to conclude that news on labor disputes, political disorders and revolutions, farm strikes or race riots is certain to be inaccurately reported. This is true because the reporters, even if they wanted to do so, could not encompass the entire situation, and furthermore, too many of the reporters doing such assignments are incapable of mastering all of the controversial questions at issue. If these factors were satisfied some newspapers would not print a true and complete report on some happenings even if it were reported.

Standardizing the Press The press has been standardized by consolidations, by the extensive use of press association reports, and also by the extensive use of syndicated articles by special writers. The result is that the material printed in one paper can be printed in almost every other paper if the owner desires to have the features for publication. Newspapers, therefore, feature Arthur Brisbane, Walter Lippmann, O. O. McIntyre, Westbrook Pegler, and even Kathleen Norris, Dorothy Dix, and Beatrice Fairfax. In addition to these feature writers there are special correspondents whose material, whether true or colored, can be published in a large number of papers.

Shaping Opinion by Radio. The radio can be used as an influential agency for creating opinion. The 15,000,000 receiving sets give the promoters of an idea an opportunity to reach millions of people. However, there are few ideas disseminated, for almost all of the time on the radio is given to sponsored programs which advertise this cough remedy, that tooth paste, or the other gasoline. During 1935 the Columbia Broadcasting System announced that it would refuse thereafter to broadcast advertisements of certain commodities. While the radio holds great possibilities for forming opinion and for developing taste, nevertheless it has done less toward these ends than we might have expected from it. It is true that the major broadcasting systems provide programs which are not punctuated with sales talks, but these are limited as to time and also as to variety. Practically all of these programs are devoted to

the arts—music, book reviews, literary ramblings, inspirational talks, and household hints. While some fine programs have been broadcast by the great symphony orchestras of the country, this type of presentation constitutes a small part of the total radio program. It is only rarely that questions of public policy are discussed. The programs of discussion sponsored by the National Municipal League, on questions of governmental administration, by the League for Industrial Democracy on the federal recovery program, and by the Foreign Policy Association in the field of international relations are three of the too few programs of public discussion heard over the air.

Control of the Radio The United States government, through the Communications Commission, has developed an excellent control of the radio from a physical standpoint by assigning wave lengths to broadcasting stations as well as in the districting of stations of somewhat similar wave length.

However, while the Commission has done a good job on the control of the physical aspects of broadcasting, it has performed most inadequately in controlling the quality of the programs. It is obvious that broadcasting systems exist, to a large degree, for the purpose of making profits. Sales talks, jazz music, vaudeville skits, and cowboy songs constitute the major portions of the programs which come to us over the air. Of course there is no assurance that the programs would be of superior quality if the Communications Commission controlled them. There are many persons in the United States who contend, however, that we could profit from the use of the British system of radio control in which the government provides the programs and each person who has a receiving set is obliged to pay a small annual license fee for the support of the broadcasting system.

There is a possibility that we could improve our radio service if the broadcasting companies allowed more controversial discussions to be presented. Since public opinion is formulated from the discussion of debatable questions and since little discussion of any such questions is allowed on the air, it is evident that the radio's presentation of little or no controversial material is a distinct bar to the formulation of intelligent opinion.

The National Committee on Radio in Education, as the result

of four years of study and investigation, recommended to the President, to Congress, and to the people of the United States in March, 1935, a plan for an American system of broadcasting to supplement but not to replace the privately-owned broadcasting systems with a view to serving the people along the following lines

(1) The operation of a public broadcasting system, including the selection of programs, to be vested in national, regional, and state radio boards, with authority to serve local and national needs and to cover the United States

(2) The system to be available for government business, for public forums, for adult education, for broadcasts to schools, and for service to non-profit welfare agencies

(3) Non-profit stations to be given the right to affiliate with the national system. This would apply to stations operated by universities

(4) Funds for the operation to be supplied by the federal government

(5) Investigations to be made by the boards to study the desires of the people for programs

The Motion Pictures Motion pictures can be used effectively for the formulation of opinion. However, their chief function has not been centered in this direction. The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America is an organization whose chief interest is in fitting the quality of the picture to the taste of the public to the end that movie houses will be crowded with patrons.

The motion pictures are further prevented from carrying out a program of shaping opinion by the numerous censorship organizations, both public and private, which attempt to control public taste by preventing certain things from being shown. It can be safely contended that the movies, if they attempt to shape opinion, do so in the interest of furthering the condition of things as they now exist. They cannot be expected to reveal a critical attitude toward unsatisfactory conditions which may exist.

The Public Platform. Any agency for public oral discussion can be considered a means of shaping public opinion. Debates of questions of moment, carried on in our larger centers of population by men and women of ability and of high purpose, are of extreme importance in crystallizing opinion. The public lecture, often con-

ducted in the nature of a forum in which members of the audience ask questions, is another avenue by which opinion is formulated. Town Hall and Carnegie Hall in New York have been the scenes of many such discussions, and Cooper Union, also in New York, has an outstanding record for free discussion for a period covering several generations. The Adult Education Council in Chicago constitutes another notable example of how public discussion of important questions can be organized. The right to speak freely on any subject is a right guaranteed by the United States Constitution. While it is a right which is often violated, especially when the speaker represents a minority opinion, nevertheless it is a right which, in the interest of formulating opinion in a democratic society, should be rigorously conserved. Especially should it be conserved if the right to speak carries with it the privilege on the part of the citizen to listen or not to listen.

The Church. Churchmen have occupied a strategic place in the shaping of opinion in our country. Some of them were the outspoken enemies of Negro slavery. More recently others were the opponents of the liquor traffic. At the present time many clergymen are critical of the capitalist system of production and also of the menace of war. Because of their training, their character, and often because of their unselfishness, their importance in the formulation of opinion is as it should be. Informed people have always been interested in knowing the position taken on any public question by such churchmen as Rabbi Stephen Wise, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Cardinal Hayes, Dr. John A. Ryan, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, and other distinguished and able churchmen. The citizen may not agree with the views of any of these men, but he must recognize that, because of their personalities and also because of the strength of their church memberships, they always command a respectful hearing and do much to shape opinion.

Organizations of churchmen have exerted powerful influence on questions of public policy. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, an association of many Protestant bodies, has made important pronouncements on some questions. Its survey of the steel industry in 1919 resulted in a memorable report and did much to reduce the working day in the industry from twelve to eight hours. The Institute for Social and Religious Research has

busied itself with the examination of many community problems in which the church and its members should be interested. The National Catholic Welfare Conference is another organization which attempts to examine issues of public policy and to speak for the Catholic membership on a variety of pressing questions.

Schools and Universities. Schools and universities must be recognized as influential agencies for shaping opinion. That has come to be especially true since the educational institutions are spending so much time teaching materials which are highly controversial. These materials are largely in the field of social sciences and deal with such debatable subjects as the tariff, race relations, foreign trade, inter-allied debts, agricultural surpluses, the short ballot, presidential responsibility, taxation, labor disputes, and a great number of similar problems.

Not only is the school a place for honest and critical discussion, but it is also a place in which one can find men and women who have opinions and whose opinions are worthy of our consideration for use in the operation of the government. Problems of taxation, of banking, of corporation control, of railroad management and finance, of farm relief, of social legislation, and many other pressing questions find their most expert solution in university circles. E. R. A. Seligman, Professor of Economics at Columbia University, has advised legislatures on the solution of their taxing problems. Clyde L. King, Professor of Government at the University of Pennsylvania, was director of the state budget of Pennsylvania and general adviser to Governor Pinchot. Simeon Leland of the University of Chicago has served on the Tax Commission of Illinois. The faculties of the University of Wisconsin have rendered conspicuous service to the government of that state. The Political Science faculty of the University of Illinois rendered a superior service to that state when it gave expert advice to Governor Frank O. Lowden on the reorganization of the state's administrative machinery. Further illustration of the activity of men in university circles is found in the formal protest which was made to President Hoover in 1929 by more than 1,000 economists against his signing the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act. While President Hoover signed the act the protest was much publicized. The New Deal under Franklin Roosevelt was the product, to a large

degree, of the work of men in university life. Raymond Moley, Rexford G. Tugwell, A. A. Berle, James M. Landis, James H. Rogers, John Dickinson, and many others who had a part in shaping governmental policies were men from universities. Herbert Hoover, when President of the United States, appointed a Commission on Social Trends, consisting of men and women from university circles. This Commission was asked to report and did report¹ on the general trends and development of American society since the beginning of the present century, with a view to predicting the general social conditions which the citizen is likely to expect in the future.

Foundations. The foundations occupy an important place in the shaping of opinion in the United States, not only because of the great wealth that they have at their disposal for making investigations and for publicizing them, but also because of the training and experience of directors and members of their staffs. The Russell Sage Foundation has exerted a wide influence not only through its social surveys in many cities and communities, but also because of the advice which members of its staff have given to officers of states, cities, and counties on questions of prison reform, social insurance, the care of dependent and defective children, recreation, and many other problems of public concern. In 1933 this Foundation made a report on the coal industry in the United States. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has made some significant reports on some of the important aspects of intercollegiate athletics and its findings have been widely read. The Julius Rosenwald Fund has had a marked influence upon Negro education in the South by making grants of money for schools on the condition that state and local governments and the Negroes themselves make further contributions. The Commonwealth Fund, through its investigations and reports, has stimulated interest in problems of public health, child care, public education, and other allied problems. The Rockefeller Foundation has been interested in promoting public health in the United States and abroad. These illustrations, together with others which might be cited, give us some idea of the influence which can be exerted by foundations.

¹ The report of the Commission is published under the title of *Recent Social Trends*.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 Why is public opinion difficult to define? What must one study in order to understand it?
- 2 What is public opinion? What are some of its sources?
- 3 What is the importance of public opinion in government?
- 4 What are some of the agencies that aid in creating or formulating public opinion?
- 5 How may newspapers color the news? Explain each of the four methods given.
6. What is the importance of sloganizing? What are the evils of this practice?
- 7 What is meant by the "Red Herring" in politics? Cite examples of its use.
- 8 How is propaganda used to further political causes? What is the usual picture of candidates created for public office? Criticize this practice. Is this practice true only of political candidates? Explain.
- 9 Why is persuasion the most ethical and intellectual means of shaping public opinion? Explain its use.
- 10 What is the importance of the newspaper as an agency which shapes opinion?
- 11 In what respects is the press likely to be prejudiced in its work? Explain fully, citing examples.
- 12 Give examples of fine public services that have been given by the press.
- 13 Why is it difficult for a newspaper to take a definite stand on controversial questions?
14. Explain the consolidation of newspapers and the development of chains.
- 15 What is the work of press associations? How are they in a position to control news?
- 16 What has been the effect of standardization on the press?
- 17 How can radio shape opinion? Has radio lived up to its possibilities? Explain.
18. To what extent have the motion pictures aided in shaping public opinion?
- 19 How have forums and other means of public discussion aided in developing an enlightened public opinion?
20. What positions have clergymen taken in public affairs that have aided in developing opinion?
21. How have schools, universities, and foundations aided in the creation of an enlightened public opinion? Explain.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Why is it essential that public opinion on any question be formulated through an enlightened and clear understanding of all the facts bearing on the case? In your opinion what means does the citizen have for developing an uncolored picture of the issues and facts involved in current public questions? Criticize the various means of gaining information discussed in this chapter.
- 2 Should one depend only upon liberal or conservative journals for information and critical discussion of current news and political questions? Why?
- 3 Give some illustrations of recent events in which you think the news has been colored?
- 4 What advantages and disadvantages would there be to the shaping and directing of radio programs by the Communications Commission?
- 5 Here are the names of some prominent newspaper men: Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, Joseph Pulitzer, Henry Watterson, Oswald Garrison Villard, Bruce Bliven, Walter Lippmann, Lincoln Steffens, Frank R. Kent, Adolph Ochs, William Randolph Hearst, Paul Y. Anderson, Robert R. McCormick, and Ernest Gruening. Make intelligent identification of each of these.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

- 1 Can you describe how opinion has been created in your community for new school buildings, for a new sewage disposal plant, for a new water system, for a system of street paving?
- 2 Name the metropolitan dailies available in your community, and identify each one with some distinctive characteristic.
- 3 Are there any newspapers in your city or community which are owned as part of a chain? What do you think of chain newspapers?

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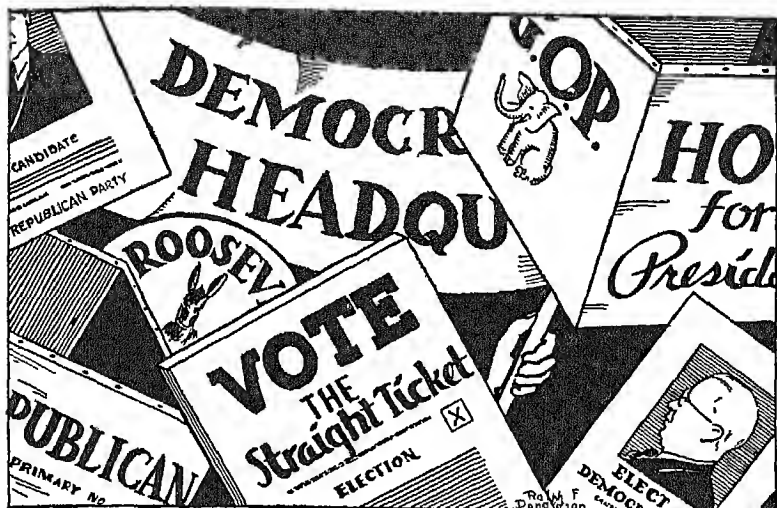
*Ralph C.
Pennington*

PART VII

THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATES IN
GOVERNMENT

So FAR we have considered six approaches to government from the viewpoint of the citizen. We need to consider now, as a concluding approach, the fact that citizens actually participate in the management of the government through their activities in politics. We shall find that in a democratic society this participation is essential in order to enjoy good government.

We shall find that citizens participate in government in different ways and to different degrees. There are some citizens who are loyal party workers and who are loyal to their political machine (Chapter 22). There are others who take their politics less seriously and have it merely as a hobby (Chapter 23), supplementing their business or professional activities. There are a few citizens, but usually influential ones, who spend their lives in politics and who really make a career (Chapter 24) of the opportunities which government affords them. These may be persons who, because of their personal fortunes, can afford to make a career of politics, but sometimes they are men who are not financially independent. They move from one political post to another, or frequently, as in the case of some United States Senators, they spend many years in Congress. Then, finally, there are others who are intent merely upon the reform and improvement (Chapter 25) of their government. These persons give much time and energy to directing attention to government from this angle.



Chapter 22 PARTIES

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To trace the development of the chief political parties
- 2 To explain how the party system works
- 3 To show how the citizen may participate in party activity

THE Constitution of the United States makes no mention of political parties. The likelihood of such organizations being created seems to have been considered very remote. But before President Washington had completed his term of office the party system was under way. We have had parties ever since.

The Supreme Court of Indiana has defined a party as follows: "A political party is an association of voters believing in certain principles of government, formed to urge the adoption and execution of such principles of governmental affairs through officers of like beliefs." Not only did the men who framed the Constitution fail to provide for parties, but Washington, at least, was rabidly opposed to them. In his famous Farewell Address, delivered at the end of his second term, he spoke as follows:

The Spirit of Party exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed, but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, . . . is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty. . . . The common and continual mischiefs of the Spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself through the channels of party passions. . . . In Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged.

But President Washington spoke in vain. Parties grew and flourished. They gradually became legally recognized in the various states and even in many acts of Congress. They were tolerated, accepted, and approved. President Coolidge explained the place that they have come to occupy in American life as follows:

We cannot weaken or destroy political parties in the United States without weakening or destroying the rule of the people. The party system has been adopted because of necessity. It has been the most efficient instrument of maintaining free popular government. No other method is effective in putting into operation the theory of representation. . . . Those who support party organization and submit to party discipline are adopting the only course yet discovered for orderly government by the people.

Early Parties. The first political groups to develop after 1789 were the *Federalists*, and the *Anti-Federalists* or *Jeffersonian Republicans*. The first group favored a strong central government and accepted the leadership of Hamilton and Adams. The Anti-Federalists believed in construing the Constitution so strictly as to give the federal government relatively few powers (see Chapter 4), and to keep most matters in the hands of the states. When Jefferson took office in 1801 he modified his views, as so often happens to political leaders, somewhat in the Federalist direction.

In 1828 Andrew Jackson changed the party name to Democratic Republican and it later became just Democratic. It still uses that name and with, of course, hundreds of changes in policies, is the

party in power in 1936 in the federal government and in many of the states

In 1836 the Whig party appeared on the scene to live until the Civil War. There also appeared the Liberty party, the Free Soil party, and, in 1856, the Republican. Since then there have been a number of minor parties, but nearly all major offices in the national government and in the states have been filled by Republicans and Democrats.

The Democratic Party. In his excellent history of the Democratic Party¹ Mr. Frank R. Kent says, "The established and generally accepted facts about the birth of the Democratic party are these:

Time—May 13, 1792

Place—Virginia

First official name—Republican

Parent—Thomas Jefferson"

Since its birth it has elected the President eighteen times out of thirty-five.² In 1936 the Governors of thirty-seven of the forty-eight states were Democrats. The Democrats also controlled both houses of Congress (see Chapter 7) and a majority of the state legislatures.

However, the national Democratic party has had its ups and downs. In power from 1801 to 1840, it was beaten in the latter year and again in 1848. Starting with Lincoln's election in 1860 the Republicans won every national election until 1932 except four, two victories for Cleveland and two for Wilson. In 1928 the Democratic party took a terrific beating losing forty of the forty-eight states. But in 1932 it swept every state but six. This has led the party historian quoted above, Mr. Kent, to conclude that "The Democratic Party is Indestructible" and he so heads the first chapter of his book, written, incidentally, before the 1932 election.³

If there were not ample and convincing evidence of the ability of the Democratic party to survive an infinite number of national defeats without lowering its vitality in the individual states or appreciably

¹ Kent, *The Democratic Party: A History*, p. 13. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, D. Appleton-Century Company.

² The Republicans have elected their candidates fourteen times, the Federalists once (Adams) and the Whigs twice.

³ Kent, *The Democratic Party: A History*, pp. 5-6. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, D. Appleton-Century Company.

diminishing its party representation in the national Congress, there are still any number of concrete facts past and present to make that notion untenable. One of these is the plain absurdity, on the basis of two Presidential defeats and a discouraging prospect, of wiping out of existence not only the oldest but the only really national party in the country—and one which happens to be the only party with a functioning organization in every one of the forty-eight States. It becomes particularly absurd when is recalled the frightful wreck of the party on the terrible rock of slavery, and the pregnant fact that after six consecutive national defeats following that great disaster it not only survived but in 1884 actually elected a Democratic President—Grover Cleveland, won with him in 1892, and then proceeded stupidly, stubbornly, and everlastingly hard to again smash up on the treacherous Free Silver shoals in 1896.

For sixteen miserable years it then sloshed around without unity, wisdom, or strength, broken, beaten, futile, foolish, unable to shake off its incubus, straighten out the kinks in the party spine, get back to fundamentals. It may be recalled that at that time too there was considerable talk, after its third Presidential reverse, of the "death blow" dealt the Democracy, and a good deal was written and said about a new party to rise from the ashes of the old. But all that was completely buried and forgotten in 1912—four years later—when the Democracy, carrying forty of the forty-eight States, emerged from the campaign with the triumphant election of a Democratic President—Woodrow Wilson.

The Solid South. This vitality is no doubt partly due to the "Solid South." Six southern states, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, have gone Democratic in every election since 1876. Four more, Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, and Texas, have voted Democratic every year except one, 1928, when they preferred Hoover to Smith. Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Tennessee are usually Democratic, making thirteen states in all which are fairly certain. These states have a total of 146 electoral votes out of 531 in the country. The Democratic party thus starts each national election with a good-sized block of support. Of course the Republican party has some "sure" states. But they never have had so many as these.

The Republican Party. The Republican party was founded in 1854 at both Ripon, Wisconsin, and Jackson, Michigan, where conventions of anti-slavery men were held and new parties formed. Its first national convention was held in Philadelphia in 1856 and its first presidential candidate was John C. Fremont. He carried

eleven states and received over 1,300,000 popular votes. In 1860 with Abraham Lincoln as the candidate the party carried its first national election. Since that date it has won fourteen presidential elections to the Democratic party's five¹

The Republican party achieved the extinction of slavery. In addition it has produced an imposing list of political leaders of the first rank, Abraham Lincoln, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Robert M. La Follette, William E. Borah, William Howard Taft, Elihu Root, Charles E. Hughes, Henry Cabot Lodge, and others. The record claimed by the party is recited in the following excerpts from Herbert Hoover's address accepting the Republican nomination in 1928:

You bring, Mr. Chairman, formal notice of my nomination by the Republican Party to the Presidency of the United States. I accept. It is a great honor to be chosen for leadership in that party which has so largely made the history of our country in these last seventy years.

Mr. Chairman, you and your associates have in four days traveled three thousand miles across the continent to bring me this notice. I am reminded that in order to notify George Washington of his election Charles Thompson, Secretary of the Congress, spent seven days on horseback to deliver that important intelligence two hundred and thirty miles from New York to Mount Vernon.

In another way, too, this occasion illuminates the milestones of progress. By the magic of the radio this nomination was heard by millions of our fellow-citizens not seven days after its occurrence, not one day, nor even one minute. They were, to all intents and purposes, present in the hall and participants in the proceedings. Today these same millions have heard your voice and now are hearing mine. We stand in their unseen presence. It is fitting, however, that the forms of our national life, hallowed by generations of usage, should be jealously preserved, and for that reason you have come to me, as similar delegations have come to other candidates through the years.

Those invisible millions have already heard from Kansas City the reading of our party principles. They would wish to hear from me not a discourse upon the platform—in which I fully concur—but something of the spirit and ideals with which it is proposed to carry it into administration.

Every man has a right to ask of us whether the United States is a

¹Of course in four of its victories the successful candidate failed to get a majority of the popular vote, Lincoln's first election (1860), Hayes (1876), Garfield (1880) and Harrison (1888). However the same was true of the Cleveland and Wilson victories.

better place for him, his wife, and his children to live in, because the Republican party has conducted the government for nearly eight years. Every woman has a right to ask whether her life, her home, her man's job, her hopes, her happiness will be better assured by the continuance of the Republican party in power. I propose to discuss the questions before me in that light.

.

No party ever accepted a more difficult task of reconstruction than did the Republican party in 1921. The record of these seven and one-half years constitutes a period of rare courage in leadership and constructive action. Never has a political party been able to look back upon a similar period with more satisfaction. Never could it look forward with more confidence that its record would be approved by the electorate.

Party Successes. The following material on the presidential votes from 1860 to 1932 will furnish us with information on the increasing size of the popular vote, on the frequency of an election with the elected candidate having a minority of the popular votes cast, and also of the wide disparity between the size of the popular vote of a candidate and the number of electoral votes received.

Candidate and Party	Popular Vote	Per Cent	Electoral
1860			
Lincoln (R.)	1,866,352	39 91	180
Breckenridge (D)	845,763	18 08	72
Bell (U)	589,581	12 61	39
Douglas (D) ..	1,375,157	29 40	12
1864			
Lincoln (R)	2,216,067	55 06	216
McClellan (D) ..	1,808,725	44 94	21
1868			
Grant (R)	3,015,071	52 67	214
Seymour (D)	2,709,613	47 33	80
1872			
Grant (R)	3,597,070	55 63	292
Greeley (D) ..	2,834,079	43 83	66
1876			
Hayes (R)	4,033,050	47 95	185
Tilden (D)	4,284,885	50 94	184
Cooper (G.)	81,740	97	
Smith (Pr)	9,522	11	

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Candidate and Party	Popular Vote	Per Cent	Electoral
1880			
Garfield (R)	4,449,053	48.31	214
Hancock (D)	4,442,035	48.23	155
Weaver (G)	307,306	3.34	
Dow (Pr)	10,487	11	
1884			
Cleveland (D)	4,911,017	48.49	219
Blaine (R)	4,848,334	48.27	182
St. John (Pr)	151,809	1.51	
Butler (G)	133,825	1.33	
1888			
Harrison (R)	5,444,337	47.82	233
Cleveland (D)	5,540,050	48.66	168
Fisk (Pr)	250,125	2.20	
Streeter (U L)	146,897	1.29	
1892			
Cleveland (D)	5,554,414	46.04	277
Harrison (R)	5,190,802	43.02	145
Weaver (P)	1,027,329	8.51	22
Bidwell (Pr)	271,058	2.24	
Wing (S)	21,164	.19	
1896			
McKinley (R)	7,035,638	50.88	271
Bryan (D)	6,467,946	46.77	176
Leverly (Pr)	141,676	1.03	
Palmer (N D)	131,529	.95	
Matchett (S -L)	36,454	.27	
1900			
McKinley (R)	7,219,530	51.69	292
Bryan (D)	6,358,071	45.51	155
Woolley (Pr)	209,166	1.49	
Debs (S -D)	94,768	.67	
Barker (P)	50,232	.37	
Malloney (S -L)	32,751	.23	
1904			
Roosevelt (R)	7,628,834	56.41	336
Parker (D)	5,084,491	37.60	140
Debs (S)	402,460	2.98	
Swallow (Pr)	259,257	1.91	
Watson (P)	114,753	.85	
Corregan (S -L)	33,724	.25	

Candidate and Party	Popular Vote	Per Cent	Electoral
1908			
Taft (R)	7,679,006	51 58	321
Bryan (D)	6,409,106	43 05	162
Debs (S)	420,820	2 83	
Chafin (Pr)	252,683	1 69	
1912			
Wilson (D)	6,286,214	41 82	435
Roosevelt (Pro)	4,126,020	27 45	88
Taft (R)	3,483,922	23 17	8
Debs (S)	897,011	5 97	
Chafin (Pr)	208,923	1 39	
1916			
Wilson (D)	9,129,606	49 28	277
Hughes (R)	8,538,221	46 07	254
Benson (S)	585,113	3 16	
Hanly (Pr)	220,506	1 19	
1920			
Harding (R)	16,152,200	61 02	404
Cox (D)	9,147,353	34 55	127
Debs (S)	919,799	3 47	
Watkins (Pr)	180,408	72	
Christensen (F -L)	26,541	10	
1924			
Coolidge (R)	15,725,003	54 07	382
Davis (D)	8,385,586	28 86	138
La Follette (Pro)	4,826,471	16 59	13
Paris (Pr)	57,551	19	
Foster (Wo)	36,386	12	
1928			
Hoover (R)	21,367,604	58 08	444
Smith (D)	15,003,795	40 79	87
Thomas (S)	267,627	72	
Foster (Wo)	48,964	13	
Varney (Pr)	19,957	06	
1932			
Roosevelt (D)	22,821,199	57 43	472
Hoover (R)	15,761,461	39 66	59
Thomas (S)	884,781	2 22	
Foster (C.)	103,304	26	
Upshaw (Pr)	71,006	17	

Capital letters following names of candidates stand for following parties: C, Communist, D, Democratic, F-L, Farmer-Labor, G, Greenback, N-D, National Democratic, P, Peoples, Pt., Prohibition, Pro, Progressive, R, Republican, S, Socialist, S-L, Socialist-Labor, S-D, Socialist-Democratic, U, Union, U-L, United Labor, Wo, Workers.

It can be seen that there has frequently been a wide disparity between the popular vote for President and the electoral vote. In the 1860 election, for example, Douglas received a very large number of popular votes (nearly 30 per cent) but only a handful of electoral votes (12 out of 303). In 1888 Cleveland actually polled more popular votes than did Harrison, but the latter received a majority of 55 in the electoral college. In 1912 the large popular support given to President Taft was not at all reflected in the electoral vote. The same was true of Theodore Roosevelt. In 1928 Alfred E. Smith received over 15,000,000 popular votes, almost twice as many as had ever been given a Democratic candidate, and yet made a miserable showing in the electoral college. In 1932, the situation and the results were almost exactly reversed.

These disparities arise from a number of causes. For one thing, it is highly important for a candidate to carry the doubtful states particularly those which have a large electoral vote, such as New York, Illinois, Ohio, and California. Also, so far as the electoral vote is concerned, there is nothing to be gained in most states by winning with a large majority.

Minor Parties. There have always been a few smaller parties struggling for recognition. Some of these have been brought into existence for a single election and have then died away. The Progressive ("Bull Moose") party led by Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 was of this sort. So was La Follette's Progressive party in 1924. Other minor parties are of permanent character. The most important of them now is the Socialist party, which has several times polled close to a million votes.

These minor parties rarely develop important voting strength. But they do serve the useful purpose of contributing ideas and advocating policies which one or both of the major parties often adopt. The Populist party (1884-1892) was swallowed up by the Democrats in 1896 when the Democratic party adopted the Populist's monetary program. The Socialist party has advocated a number of policies which have been later adopted by the Republicans and the Democrats. This was true of the sixteenth and seventeenth amendments to the Constitution. It is also true of the postal savings system and of the parcel post service. So while it is roughly correct to say that we use a "two-party system," the minor parties cannot be entirely neglected.

Progressives and Radicals. There are a number of leaders in both major parties who have occasionally broken with what they consider the conservative policies of the regular party leaders. They have formed a somewhat incoherent "progressive bloc." Some Congressmen who have on occasion been identified with the progressive bloc are Senators Norris, La Follette, Borah, Couzens, Wheeler, Nye, Costigan, Shipstead, Johnson, and Bone, and Representatives Amhe, Marcantonio, Maverick, Schmieder, Lundeen, and Kvale. Their opponents call them "radicals." Thus Senator Norris of Nebraska calls himself a Republican, and was elected as a Republican to the Senate, but there he opposed the policies of President Coolidge and President Hoover and in 1928 and 1932 advocated the election of the Democratic presidential candidates. The same has for a long time been true of the La Follettes in Wisconsin and of a number of others. Many people express the hope that one of the two major parties will become definitely "conservative" and the other definitely "progressive." Then there would always be a more substantial clash of issues between them.

What Is a Party For? Parties exist for the purpose of winning elections, of putting certain men into office, and of carrying out certain policies. A party must win elections at least part of the time. In order to win elections there are many things that must be done. Party clubs must be formed to attract indifferent voters and give them a sense of party loyalty. Party committees must be chosen, one for the nation, one for each state, one for each district, one for each county, one for each voting precinct. This has actually been done. Conventions must be held, platforms written, and candidates nominated. Campaigns must be managed, national, state, and local, with speakers, advertising, broadcasts, parades, posters, and slogans. Funds must be collected and dispersed. All this must be done in order to win elections.

Party Clubs. As the basis of the party organization in many localities there is the party club. The party club is described by Kent as follows.¹

These clubs flourish all over the country. There are probably 2,000 of them thickly scattered about in the cities with a population of 50,000

¹From *The Great Game of Politics*, pp. 46-48, by Frank R. Kent, copyright 1923, 1930 by Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

and upward, and they have, perhaps, a combined membership of more than 1,000,000. Every one of them has its own individuality but in the main they are so much alike that a club in San Francisco cannot be distinguished from one in Jersey City. Evenly divided between the two dominant parties there are not many wards in any section without their two ward clubs. In Baltimore, for instance, there is not a single ward in which there is not both a Democratic and a Republican organization club.

The multitude of voters who take no active interest in politics, and vote, when they do vote, perfunctorily, have not the least conception of what these clubs are, of their influence, or even, except in the vaguest way, of their existence. Yet, they are a very vital part of the life of every city in the country.

While they are basically political, with a membership confined to party people, they are run largely on a friendly, neighborhood basis, and the effort is to make them the social as well as the political centre of the ward. All Democrats are eligible for membership in a Democratic club and all Republicans in a Republican club. There is no other requirement. And it is not necessary to be a machine Democrat or Republican. You are just as welcome as an independent Democrat or Republican, and, if you have the strength, you can oust the organization from control of the club just as you could, if you were strong enough, oust it in the ward.

The effort of the ward and precinct leaders is to get on the rolls of the club as many party people as possible. Everybody is welcomed. The dues are so low as to be nominal. The standard rate is ten cents a week or fifty cents a month, but nobody is ever dropped from a ward club because he does not pay his dues. The membership of the average club is between 400 and 600. Of this number there will probably be about 110 or 120 who regularly pay dues. These include all the precinct executives and office holders and some others, but the bulk of the membership in all these clubs pay nothing. Yet they have the same privileges and stand just as well as those who pay.

Usually the ward executive is the treasurer of the club. All his political conferences are held there. It is there he meets his precinct executives, distributes the precinct money on election day, and holds the organization meetings for indorsement of the ticket.

In all the clubs there are a pool table, card room, reading room, a big room for meetings, and a bar. In the old days, the bar was a big source of revenue. Now nearly every club in the country has gone in for "home-brew" and there is keen competition in many cities for the reputation of being the best "home-brew" club. This "home-brew," of course, is sold without a license and helps support the club. In most clubs there is a mighty poker game, out of which there is a small "take-off" or "cut" for the benefit of the club. Some of these games degenerate

into real gambling, but mostly they are for a small limit, and are simply the kind of game that goes on in every social club in the country.

It ought to be clearly understood that these clubs—the great majority of them—are distinctly not tough. The gambling is comparable to that which goes on in any exclusive social club and they are, for the most part, orderly and decent. They are neighbourhood gathering places where men can meet, hear the latest gossip, exchange political views, play pool or cards if they like, or just loaf.

In New York and Chicago—particularly New York—the social activities of the club are unceasing and far-reaching. There is always something going on at the club. They have clam bakes, excursions, dances, oyster roasts, and picnics. All Democrats or all Republicans are invited. And nearly always everything is free, although sometimes tickets are sold. The members flock to these affairs, taking their wives, sisters, and sweethearts.

Once in a while the city boss will visit the ward club and everybody gets a chance to see the celebrity. And during the campaigns the candidates for Mayor or for Governor will come out one night and speak.

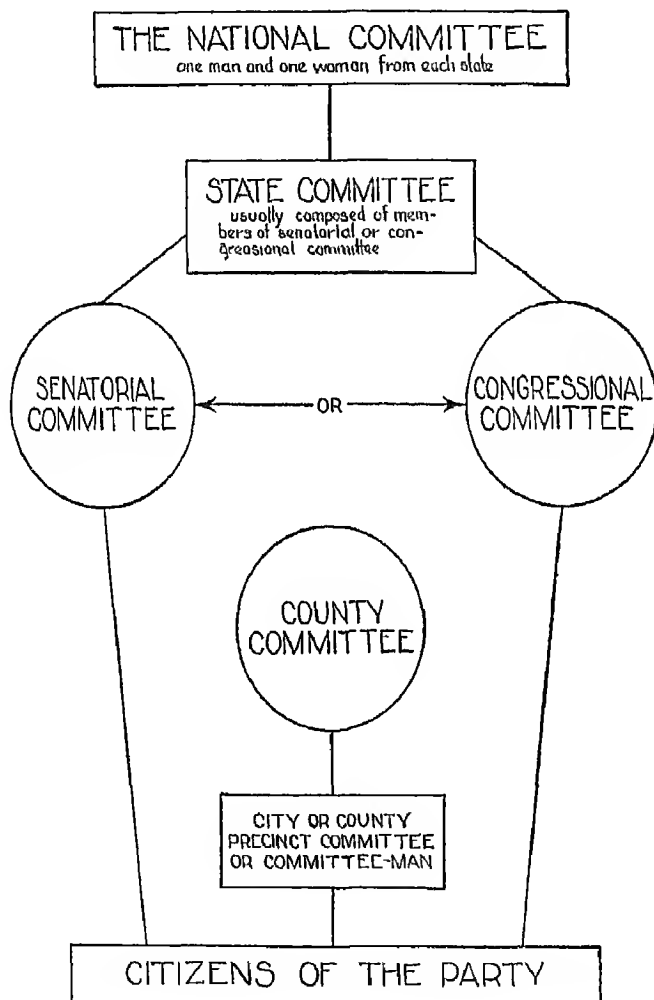
Party Committees. The precinct committeemen are often selected by popular vote at the time of the primary election. The office carries no salary as is true of practically all of the party committee posts. But the committeeman is a power in his precinct. He is a member of the county committee in most cases. He is consulted about appointments in his area. He directs the precinct workers on election day and usually has a number of jobs, some of which pay real money, to give to his friends for party work.

The county and district committees are more important. They handle a good deal of the local patronage and they often decide what candidates shall have the "organization's" support in the primaries. In the large cities this support is often equivalent to nomination. They plan some of the campaign strategy and are frequently on the platform with the candidates at meetings. Many of them become candidates themselves.

The state committees are more than ever concerned with the strategy of the campaign and the party work between elections. They play a larger role in patronage, especially for "big" jobs. They attempt to reconcile discordant elements in the party, appease disappointed candidates, and keep party harmony in general. They are actively engaged in raising funds and frequently solicit contributions.

The National Committee, composed of one man and one woman

PARTY ORGANIZATION



from each state, is a powerful and august body. It performs on a national scale the functions described above and, in addition, it conducts the national party convention. This is the final authority of the party.

The National Convention. Each party holds a national convention in June or July of the years in which a President is elected. The delegates are selected in different ways, sometimes by state conventions, sometimes by district committees, and sometimes elected by popular vote. Both parties allow each state twice as many delegates as it has electoral votes. Delegates from Alaska, Hawaii, Philippines, Porto Rico, District of Columbia, and the Canal Zone make the total number of delegates about 1,100. The meetings are held in a great auditorium in a city selected by the National Committee. Cleveland business men gave \$100,000 to get the Republican Convention there in 1924, and Chicago got them both in 1932 at considerable expense.

These meetings are tremendously dramatic. Packed halls draped in flags, the delegates (and alternates) under their state banners, thousands of spectators begging to get in, bands playing, speeches, enthusiasm, demonstrations, some of them spontaneous, all add to produce one of the most colorful shows in American politics.

The first business of the convention is to elect its officers, seat the duly elected delegates, appoint its committees, and adopt its rules of order. All of these often provoke controversy. Various factions, especially those working for the nomination of certain candidates, wish to control the organization of the convention.

The next business is the report of the committees, including the committee on the platform. Here the fight often becomes more intense. In 1924 the Al Smith Democrats wanted a vigorous condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan by name. When they failed to secure this in the platform, it was demonstrated that Smith could not be nominated. The Lowden men had the same experience with a strong farm relief plank at the Kansas City convention of 1928. When the Lowden plank was defeated, Governor Lowden's hope of winning the Republican nomination was ended.

Platforms, it is said, are to be used to climb to office upon, not to stand on after election. However, although dozens of platform promises have been flagrantly violated, they do sketch the general

outlines of the party policy. Some office-holders have followed them scrupulously.

The most exciting part of the convention is reserved for the last, that is the nomination of the party's candidates for President and Vice President. Occasionally, as in the case of a President who seeks a second term, only one name is presented and the nomination is made by acclamation. More often, however, a number of names are presented with long eulogies, with other long speeches to second the nominations. These speeches alone sometimes last two or three days. Then the balloting begins. The roll of states is called and the vote of the delegates of each state is taken. Frequently no one is chosen on the first ballot, so a second ballot is taken. If no candidate is chosen on the second ballot, a third is taken, and a fourth, and so on. The Republican party requires a majority of all delegates for a choice but the Democrats require two-thirds. In 1924 over 100 ballots were taken, with Smith and McAdoo leading, before both withdrew and John W. Davis became the Democratic candidate. The voting lasted eight days.

Such situations are called "deadlocks." When they occur, and they often do, the chances are good for a "dark horse" candidate to be named as the last minute compromise. Not only was Davis this sort of a "dark horse," but Harding was also in 1920. The Republican party was split between Governor Lowden, General Wood, and Hiram Johnson, and to break the "deadlock" a little group of men met "in a smoke-filled room of a hotel and named the next President of the United States."

Ability and Availability. It was soon demonstrated that Mr. Harding was chosen not for his ability, but for his availability. He was a Senator, he had few enemies and many friends. He was allied to no single faction. Most important of all, he was from Ohio.

What makes a candidate available? For one thing he should come from a large state, a state with a score or more of electoral votes. The smallest state to be represented in the White House (by election) since 1860 is Indiana, which had fifteen electoral votes. The second thing is that the state should be a doubtful one. The eleven states of the "Solid South" have had no presidential candidate since 1860 and are unlikely to have any. They are counted surely Democratic anyway (barring upsets like 1928). The same situa-

tion exists in Pennsylvania, which has not voted Democratic in a presidential election since 1856. Neither has it had a presidential candidate since that date. The ideal states are New York and Ohio, and so nine of our fifteen Presidents since 1860 and sixteen of the twenty-seven candidates have come from these two states. When the nominee has been selected the same process, never quite so long drawn out, is used to name the vice presidential candidate. The vice presidential candidate is named for various reasons. Sometimes the place is given to a disappointed candidate for the presidential nomination. Sometimes he is selected to balance the presidential candidate. In 1924 the Democrats ran John W. Davis, a Wall Street lawyer and an eastern conservative, for President, and picked Charles W. Bryan, a western Progressive, for Vice President. Theodore Roosevelt was named for Vice President in 1900 to take him out of active politics, where he was crusading against the "machine," and put him in a very inconspicuous place. After naming the two candidates the delegates go home to launch the campaign.

National Campaigns. The campaign opens officially when the nominee is formally notified of his selection. He delivers a speech of acceptance which eulogizes the party record and strikes the keynote for the later speeches. Every advertising device is used in the campaign. The candidates usually make a number of speeches, all of which are now broadcast. Thousands of other speeches are made by lesser lights. Posters are distributed. Auto stickers are used. Every possible appeal is made. The actual management of the campaign is shared by the national committee and by the candidate.

There are also campaigns to be conducted in the "off-years," that is years like 1934, 1938, and so on, in which there are Congressional elections but no voting for President. These campaigns are less sensational but are important both to the party in power and to the party which hopes to return to power two years hence.

Primaries. For almost all offices other than President and Vice President, at least in most states, the nominations are made not in conventions but by direct primary vote. These primaries are usually held in the spring or early summer before the elections in November. In the primary campaigns it is every man for himself, although the party organization frequently has an "approved ticket." In states which are regularly carried by a certain party, as in the Solid

South, the primary campaign is more important than the final election. Candidates frequently spend more time and money on the primary than on the election.

Campaign Expenditures. That political campaigns are costly is fairly evident. Some large expenditures on presidential campaigns are as follows:

McKinley Campaign (1896)	\$3,500,000
Harding Campaign (1920)	5,300,000
Cox Campaign (1920)	1,300,000
Coolidge Campaign (1924)	4,200,000
Davis Campaign (1924)	900,000

Candidates for the Senate sometimes also spend large sums:

Newberry (Michigan, 1922)	\$195,000
Smith (Illinois, 1926)	253,000
Vare (Pennsylvania, 1926)	786,000

Newberry's election was contested because of the extravagant expenditure. However, he was seated, although by a resolution which condemned these expenditures as "harmful to the integrity and dignity of the Senate" and "dangerous to the perpetuity of free government"! Neither Smith nor Vare, although legally elected, was allowed a seat in the Senate.

Congress has attempted to prevent excessive use of money in elections by requiring a public accounting and by limiting the actual amounts. Many states have done likewise. However, these efforts have not been wholly successful. Getting elected is still too costly.

Campaign Contributions. Where do these funds come from? In some cases the candidate is wealthy and can finance his own campaign. More frequently contributions are solicited. Large corporations formerly contributed to both parties until such practices came to be known and frowned upon. Some wealthy persons give generous amounts. Their names and the amounts are matters of public record. Of course thousands of small contributions are received.

The Citizen and the Party. The study of American government is inseparably linked to the study of American parties. Examples of the boss and the party "machine" have been given in Chapter 5. Could we get along without parties? It seems doubtful. With all their evils and shortcomings, they are rather firmly established both

in custom and in law. They are a part of the drama of American life.

What is the proper role of the citizen? Should he join a party? Or should he hold aloof from party politics and vote for the man, not for the organization? The answer depends on the circumstances surrounding the citizen. Usually he will do well to affiliate himself with a party. This is obviously true if he expects to run for office. But if he is a government employee he should not permit any party activity to interfere with his efficiency. Whether the citizen enters a party or not, he can always stand ready to disregard party ties and vote for capable men in preference to inferior ones. The political destinies of America are in the hands of the independent voters.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 Why was Washington opposed to parties? Are these objections still valid?
- 2 What place in American life did President Coolidge ascribe to parties?
- 3 Trace the development of the Democratic party. Who have been some of its chief leaders? For what has it stood?
- 4 Explain the origin of the Republican party. What have been its chief doctrines? Who have been some of the important leaders?
- 5 Why did Mr. Kent state that the Democratic party is the only truly national party?
- 6 In what section of the country does the Republican party lack a functioning organization? Explain the reason for this.
- 7 Why is there such a large disagreement between the popular vote and the corresponding electoral vote? Should anything be done to adjust this disparity?
- 8 What has been the work of the minor parties?
- 9 What is the significance of progressives and radicals being in both major parties? What have some political students suggested should take place in political alignments?
- 10 What is the purpose of political parties?
- 11 What is the work of the party club?
- 12 What is the work of the party committee?
- 13 Explain the activities and work of a national convention.
- 14 What is a party platform?
- 15 What is the significance of the statement that a man is nominated not for his ability but for his availability?

- 16 What states have provided the bulk of the Presidents and Vice Presidents since 1860? Why has this been true?
- 17 What have been some typical campaign expenditures? Why were Vare and Smith refused seats in the United States Senate?
- 18 What should probably be the attitude of citizens toward political parties?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Study one of the minor parties and report to the class on its history, its program, and its general importance
- 2 Would you favor a "re-alignment" of political parties? Of what sort?
- 3 Debate the question, Resolved Every citizen should become an active member of some political party

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. What are the activities of the local party committees in your community or county? Who are the members? If a campaign is in progress visit the local headquarters of one of the parties and report on its work
- 2 Is there a political club of one of the parties in your ward? If so, what has been its social and political activities in the past year? What are the qualifications for membership? Are any of your relatives members?
- 3 Report on the history of political parties in your community since 1860 Which has been the dominant party? Who have been some of the prominent party leaders and important local candidates for state or national offices? How do political parties make it easy for the citizen to participate in local, state, and national governments?

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Chapter 23 POLITICS AS A HOBBY

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To explain how people become interested in politics
- 2 To show how and why politics is the great American game

PEOPLE vary to a great degree in the interest which they display in the activities, issues, and personalities of our political life. There are some who come to develop such an interest in things political that they make a profession of public life and public service (For this see Chapter 24.) Then there are others, large numbers of whom too often are not interested in political events and issues. They are disappointed about the things governments do and the success with which they do them; they usually do not vote, they have the ability to master the details of politics but do not try to exercise a mastery over their political fortunes. These people are frequently uninformed, they complain about their government, often they are amused about the people who manifest an interest. They are persons who, because of their indifference, are really not qualified to live in a democratic society.

Politics an Avocation. Between these two types of people, those who make a profession of politics and those who show no interest in the details of the art, we find a large number who make politics

something of a hobby. These citizens know the politicians of their city, county, and state quite as well as the boys and men know the professional baseball players. They can tell who ran for Mayor twenty years ago, who was elected, and by what majority. They can recall the names of the candidates for sheriff in a campaign that is now musty with age, and they relate, with pride, the part they played in the nomination and election of their party's candidate for Congress or maybe for county clerk. They regale and sometimes bore their friends with accounts of their experiences while attending county, state, or national conventions, or maybe of the conversation which they had with candidates for unimportant offices. They tell their neighbors and their grandchildren of the party strife, of the torch light parades, of the party celebrations and barbecues which were prevalent when Cleveland or McKinley or Wilson ran for President. They relate with much enthusiasm the year they helped to elect their candidate to the state Senate and they recall with pride the time that they accompanied the local political marching club to participate in the ceremonies attending the inauguration of the Governor. They relate the circumstances attending the appearance in their town or city of a presidential candidate, or they claim to be one of the few persons in their city who voted for Grant or Cleveland. These are the persons who may have known one or more county bosses and now entertain their friends with reminiscences of their early acquaintance. These are the people who make politics a hobby. They like it because it is a kind of game which provides some excitement and pleasure. They do not give all of their time to political activities. To them it is a pursuit in which they engage only on occasional days, during the weeks of a political campaign and its accompanying election, or during the hours after which they have finished their regular work.

Participating in Local Politics. As a rule the persons who can be thought of as making a hobby of politics are citizens who participate in local political life. They become candidates for alderman or councilman or they seek election to the school board. They receive appointments as election officials or they may aspire to become justice of the peace, road commissioner, or township supervisor. If they are socially prominent they may be satisfied with an appointment by the court or by the Governor to the board of managers of a public institution which position carries honor but no salary.

Frank R. Kent,¹ a distinguished commentator on American political life, describes this type quite accurately when he writes

Then, too, irrespective of the selfish interest, the thing that gets him into the game is very often an instinctive love of politics. It is born in many men. It is in their blood. It is, after all, the great American game, and more people are actively interested in it than in baseball, football, horse racing or poker. And they are getting more numerous all the time.

There are in every city many thousands of men who love to talk politics, pull political wires, mix in political fights, join in political arguments, stand on the corner or in the ward club and exchange political views. These natural politicians permeate the great middle classes of the country. They are not so numerous in the districts where the wealthy live. They are rarely found in "society" or among the class that refers to itself as the "intelligentsia," but among the "plain people" they are numerous, virile and active. They color life in most of the wards of any great city—and those who become factors in a political organization form a respected and envied class.

Mr. Kent may be wrong in saying that a desire to participate in politics is born in many men and that it is in their blood. These persons as boys, as young men and as older men, we would find, are subjected to this great game, and, being exposed to it, they come to like it. Here is a boy, exposed to the workings of the county machine through the activities of the county boss who lives in his village, who comes to have an unquenchable thirst for political gossip and activity. There is the woman who as a girl was exposed to the political conversation, plans, and personalities which were a part of her household because of the active part which her father took in politics. Here is the man whose ardent interest in politics dates from the time when he was accustomed to accompany his parents about their town on election nights to secure the election returns. Then there is the man who received his first experience with political life from his associations in his father's place of business, which chanced to be the gathering place for the political wisecracks of the neighborhood. Joseph Tumulty,² the secretary to President Wilson, gives us a vivid account of the impressions

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² From *Woodrow Wilson as I Know Him*, pp. 1-2, copyright 1921, by Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc. Reprinted by permission.

which he received as a boy from the men who gathered to talk and to exchange views.

My dear father, Philip Tumulty, a wounded soldier of the Civil War, after serving an apprenticeship as an iron moulder under a delightful,



Courtesy St. Louis Globe Democrat

POLITICS IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF FEDERAL FUNDS? ABSURD!

wholesouled Englishman, opened a little grocery store on Wayne Street, Jersey City, where were laid the foundation stones of his modest fortune and where, by his fine common sense, poise, and judgment, he soon established himself as the leader of a Democratic faction in that neighbourhood. This modest little place soon became a political laboratory for me. In the evening, around the plain, old-fashioned

counters, seated upon barrels, and boxes, the interesting characters of the neighbourhood gathered, representing as they did the leading active political forces in that quaint cosmopolitan community

No matter how far back my memory turns, I cannot recall when I did not hear politics discussed—not ward politics only, but frequently the politics of the nation and the world. In that grocery store, from the lips of the plainest folk who came here, were carried on serious discussions of the tariff, the money question, our foreign relations, and all phases of the then famous Venezuelan question, which in those days threatened to set two continents on fire.

One can see where Mr. Tumulty, later to be a legislator and secretary to Woodrow Wilson, received the beginnings of his political training. It came to him quite casually from the neighbors with whom his family lived. It comes to many boys and girls from such sources, from men who do not make a business of politics but merely have it as a hobby.

Helping a Friend Those who have politics as a hobby give considerable time and attention to helping their friends. These fellows will take time to encourage support of one of their acquaintances who is a candidate for city or for county office, and they will not expect any financial reward for giving the support. They are likely to encourage the appointment of an acquaintance to the police force or to such a position as the janitorial staff of the school system. In case of any misfortune befalling an acquaintance these persons will be sure to give and to encourage the giving of assistance. They speak a "good word" for their acquaintances, they are on friendly terms with many people; their fellow citizens usually speak well of them. They do favors generously because the help which they give does not cost money, but is merely based upon the good will of others. They attend funerals; they attempt to dispense charity, they will do favors for anyone who is willing to receive them. If they are on good terms with the police or the prosecuting attorney they will say a "good word" for their friends in order to quash an indictment, release a prisoner, secure the dismissal of a case, or secure some other form of leniency. They engage in political activity, as all politicians practice the art, by doing favors and by receiving them. These men encourage community enterprises—playgrounds, holiday celebrations, and old home weeks. They are boosters and want to see their communities make progress. It is by giving assistance, of one kind or another, to a sufficiently large

number of acquaintances that the man who engages in politics as a hobby may come to make it a profession

Getting Out the Vote. One of the challenging conditions which accompanies participation in politics is the job of getting the voters to the polls on election day. Usually the precinct captains have little difficulty in securing many young men who will drive their cars all day to haul supporters of their ticket to the polls. As a rule these persons are paid a small sum of money for their services, often as much as ten dollars for the day, but some are known to perform this service for no compensation. The job of getting out the vote requires a considerable number of workers and it provides an apprenticeship in politics for many who later advance in the control of the party's machine. Kent¹ describes these workers well when he writes, referring to the party bosses

Where most of them really started was as a paid runner or messenger, employed on primary or general election day by the precinct executive to help get out the vote. For this they were paid from \$2.50 to \$5. Nineteen out of twenty of the professional city bosses were first politically active in this way, and many of them were too young to vote at the time.

This kind of job appeals to men and also to women and many are eager to serve their party. The work is dramatic and exciting, and those who do it feel that they are serving some good cause. It offers competition in that each worker knows that there is opposition to his ticket and that the opponents are also providing transportation for those who will be likely to vote their ticket. The workers resort not only to providing transportation but also to calling at the homes personally, and to telephoning to remind their acquaintances of a favorite candidate.

Watching Governmental Action. There are many citizens who attend the sessions of legislative bodies for something of the same reason that people witness athletic contests. Such persons look upon these sessions as places where they can find some excitement, or sometimes, as places where they can actually observe some of the processes of government at work. They are intrigued by the activity or they may be fascinated by the work of some members of the legislative body. If one attends the meetings of the city council

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he will always find a number of persons who come to look on. Some are critical observers, others may not have any other place to go. Then, too, there are always a large number of people listening in on the sessions of the state legislatures and of Congress and even on the many committee hearings which are held by these bodies. The investigations into the oil scandals in 1923, conducted by a Senate committee under the direction of Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, and the investigations of the banking practices by a committee, for which Ferdinand Pecora was counsel, were pieces of committee work which extended over months and attracted many auditors and observers.

Furthermore, the courts, and chiefly the criminal courts, always have large numbers of visitors. Some of these people attend because they understand the questions involved in the case, others because they want to see the defendant, to some a court trial is an exciting event, others attend because they want to listen to the testimony given by the witnesses, still others because they have little else to do. Much of the attendance at these events is caused by the fact that those attending think that the occasion will provide a "good show."

Many of these persons succeed in learning much about how government actually functions, though they may not and usually do not know anything about the theory and the origin of government. Their observations are dulled by lack of training, but again their observations are rendered more valuable by the many hours which they spend in looking over the scenes of government in action.

Widening One's Circle of Acquaintances. Politics, for some people, is a means of widening their circle of acquaintances. Some of these persons secure election as precinct committeemen because it affords them an opportunity several times a year to associate with other members of the county or the ward committee. Associations in politics for these persons are comparable to the associations which men and women often form in fraternal groups. There is a sense of satisfaction in knowing the party leaders at the other end of the county, in another part of the Congressional district, or even in a distant part of the ward.

The political machine (see Chapter 22) is always supported by the political club. These clubs, located in each ward or each district of our large cities, are places where party members congregate. It

is here that one can meet the party workers and those who aspire to be party leaders. Politics, as viewed from the party club house, provides an opportunity to meet friends, to make new acquaintances, to learn the gossip and the political predictions—in brief, to do those things which many citizens would do elsewhere if the political club house were not provided for them.

The regular conventions of the party and the associations in the political clubs are not the only means by which we use politics to become acquainted with people. The party organization is certain to hold rallies, picnics, beach parties, clam bakes, boat excursions, and other activities. These are offered as rewards to the citizens who have supported, or are likely to support, the party's candidates. They are enjoyed too by the party workers, for they provide another occasion to meet the voters and become acquainted with them.

Engaging in politics as a hobby is often accompanied by the citizen's identification with one or more fraternal organizations and lodges. These organizations, at their meetings and conventions, give the politician another opportunity to meet old friends and to make new acquaintances. Some men, in anticipating candidacies for public office, no doubt join lodges with a view to widening their circle of acquaintances, thereby gaining favor with the electorate in general. To be well connected fraternally is one way of making progress in politics.

Supplementing the Business. Men make a hobby of politics partly because they think it is an excellent way of supplementing their income or their business. Membership on the precinct committee, which makes one a member of the county or the ward committee, depending upon whether one lives in the open country or in a large city, gives the party worker an opportunity to handle considerable sums of money, some of which he may be able to keep for his own use. When a candidate seeks the nomination for a county office which pays a good salary, he may attempt to secure the support of the county boss. If the support is given he is likely to secure the nomination. If there is no boss or if he thinks he can break the control of the boss, he may seek the support of the precinct committeemen. He does this by calling on them and if they are at all sympathetic toward his candidacy the candidate is likely to leave with the committeeman a contribution of \$10 to \$25 which the party worker is expected to use in furthering the political for-

tunes of the candidate. If enough candidates call upon this particular committeeman, and they often do, his income may be enhanced by as much as \$100 or \$200. At the time of the general election the precinct workers again have access to money supplied, this time, by the party organization. Again, the workers are often able to reserve a large portion of this money for themselves.

While the party worker often uses his party connections to increase his income directly in small amounts, he is also certain to use his party affiliations to increase his business indirectly. Young lawyers often become active in politics because political activity may bring them clients, or even better, it may bring an appointment as city attorney, as counsel for the school board, or even as an assistant to the prosecuting attorney. An illustration of this is the young lawyer, politically active, who is counsel for the park commission, for the school board, and for the city government. His fees from these three sources guarantee him a substantial income. There are also opportunities for establishing close contacts between politics and the insurance, bonding, and real estate business. Many men who have had political connections have succeeded in selling real estate to the city at good prices. Or, they are able through their political contacts to furnish the bonds, with nice fees attached, for all persons in the city government. A Mayor of a large city was once accused of requiring all bonded officials of the city to secure their bonds through his bonding office. Men engaged in the contracting business are frequently active in politics because they think it is necessary to establish friendly relations with members of the dominant political parties in order to secure contracts for streets, roads, bridges, public buildings, furnishings, and other public improvements. There are many business men who have chosen politics as a hobby. "Jim" McNichol, state Senator from Philadelphia for many years, was in the contracting business. Boss Smith of New Jersey of thirty or more years ago was a banker, manufacturer, and newspaper owner. Samuel Insull, whose money was used lavishly in Illinois politics, was a utility magnate. The Vases, George, Edward, and William, were the bosses of Philadelphia for many years and were engaged in the contracting and street cleaning business. Mark Hanna, who did much to shape the destinies of the McKinley era, was another influential business man who made a hobby of politics. The more humble politician, especially in our

large cities, who uses politics as a hobby, is likely to have a type of business by which he can be on friendly terms with his supporters. He may be the proprietor of a cigar store, of a pool hall, or some other small enterprise, where he is available for advice and for help to his supporters, and where he can see the people from whom he expects support.

The business man is often able to play a prominent part in political life, not as a candidate or as a framer of policies, but chiefly as a contributor to the campaign funds of the parties. This often becomes a vicious influence in politics, for when carried to extremes, it amounts to little less than the purchasing of elections.

Newspaper Men and Politics. Newspaper work has provided one important field in which the workers have naturally taken to politics as a hobby. This is illustrated in part by the extent to which newspaper men, chiefly owners of papers, have dabbled in politics, and also by the influence which they have exerted in gaining the confidence of men prominent in public life. In the former class, those who have actually been active in the political sphere in addition to their regular work are such men as the two whom Franklin Roosevelt appointed to posts as ambassadors. One was Robert Bingham, the owner of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, who was made ambassador to Great Britain and the other was Claude G. Bowers, at one time the chief editorial writer of the New York *Evening World*, the author of a number of books dealing with political characters of prominence, who was named ambassador to Spain. Mr. Bowers was the temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention in 1928 and by his writings as well as by his speaking is considered a distinct asset to the Democratic party. Josephus Daniels, an owner of newspapers in North Carolina, has served as Secretary of Navy and also as ambassador to Mexico. Walter Hines Page, editor, publisher, and intimate friend of Woodrow Wilson, served as ambassador to Great Britain. Louis McHenry Howe, the confidential adviser and secretary to Franklin Roosevelt, was a newspaper man before he became associated with the man who became a state Senator, Assistant Secretary of Navy, Governor, and President. Rud Hynicka, one of the chief lieutenants of Boss George Cox in Cincinnati a quarter of a century ago, had been a newspaper reporter before his active association with Cox and others in the management of what was then the most effective

political machine in any American city. Joseph Medill, a Chicago newspaper man of the latter part of the nineteenth century, exerted a considerable influence on Illinois politics, while David Stern, the present owner of the Philadelphia *Record*, is reputed to have been a strong influence in the overthrow of the Vare machine in Philadelphia. Warren Worth Bailey, the editor of the Johnstown (Pennsylvania) *Democrat*, was another editor who was active in politics and was elected to Congress on several occasions.

There is another group of newspaper men who have not actually competed for public office but, through their writings, have done much to influence public affairs. William Allen White, the Kansas journalist, has left his impressions upon the politics of his state, and his opinions are quoted widely throughout the country. Henry Watterson, in his day, was an active party man. Walter Lippmann and David Lawrence are commentators on public questions whose writings are widely read. Lippmann, author of many books, has doubtless done much to influence opinion on many public questions. Mark Sullivan and Frank Kent have been given somewhat to justifying the actions of their respective political parties, while James Kerney, editor of two Trenton papers, is supposed to have had much to do with shaping the policies of Woodrow Wilson, while he was Governor and later when he became President. William Randolph Hearst has dabbled in politics and through his chain of newspapers has exerted much influence on the political decisions of our nation. He once aspired to be the senatorial candidate in New York but Alfred E. Smith, as the Democratic candidate for Governor, refused to run on the same ticket with him. His New York *Journal* is credited with having produced popular sympathy for the Spanish-American War. His papers, strongly nationalistic, have generally opposed entrance into the League of Nations, adherence to the World Court, and the recognition of Russia. They have urged intervention in Mexico and have always held an unwarranted suspicion of the influence of Japan. During 1935 the Hearst papers carried on a drive against a reputed "red" menace in the United States, concentrating attention on colleges and college professors.

Predicting the Results Just as boys and men are given to making predictions on the outcome of the season's organized baseball,

so men, and occasionally women, are given to spending their leisure time in making estimates of the results of the coming election. Thus men make a list of the states which they expect the Republican candidate for President to carry in the coming election, or those which the Democratic candidate may carry, and thereby demonstrate the relative correctness of their judgment on the outcome. Similarly, we find interested party members making estimates of the majority which a given candidate will receive in their county, in their Congressional district, or in their assembly district. Just as informed persons in baseball know the approximate number of home runs which a celebrated player will hit during a playing season, and the approximate batting average of all prominent players, so informed political prophets know the majorities which must be won in certain wards, counties, and cities if a particular ticket is to win the election. Political observers know that it is necessary for the Democrats to carry New York City by about 500,000 plurality¹ if the party is to carry the state. They also know that a substantial Democratic majority is needed in Baltimore if that party carries Maryland. They are familiar with the fact that if the Republican vote in the northern counties of New Jersey approximates 50 per cent of the vote cast, the party will enjoy a sweeping victory in the state. The citizen who makes a hobby of politics knows that it is practically impossible for candidates to win in Pennsylvania unless they carry Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties. They also know that a substantial lead is needed in Cook County if the Democratic candidates are to be victorious in Illinois. These observers usually know of certain precincts, counties, and districts which are good barometers of the outcome. Such areas are quite independent in their voting and merely serve to indicate that as they vote the election is likely to be decided. After securing returns from these districts the observer can make fairly accurate estimates of the extent of the victory for certain candidates and parties. This ability to make observations and intelligent estimates accounts for the reasonable accuracy of the newspapers in predicting, soon after the

¹ In 1932 Hoover defeated Roosevelt in up-state New York by approximately 275,000. Roosevelt carried the state by a handsome majority because he had a plurality of nearly 900,000 in New York City. In 1928 Hoover carried New York State over Smith for President by 104,000 votes. Smith carried New York City by only 450,000, however.

polls close, the majorities which winning candidates will have. Thus the newspapers, within a few hours after the polls closed in 1932, announced the election of Franklin Roosevelt. The *Chicago Tribune*, appearing on the streets long before midnight of election day, reported that Herbert Hoover would receive 82 electoral votes. He actually received, when all of the returns were in, 59 votes. This paper in its early reports claimed seven states carried by Hoover, he actually carried six states. The *New York Times*, in its early morning edition following the election, reported that Roosevelt carried forty states with two doubtful. He actually carried forty-two states. Even though all precincts are not reported a full day after the polls are closed, nevertheless the newspapers, through informed observers, are able to make quite accurate estimates of the outcome a few hours after the preliminary reports are available.

Taking Straw Ballots. One of the interesting and sometimes exciting practices which accompanies elections is the taking of straw votes. A straw vote consists of taking a ballot before the election actually occurs. Straw votes are conducted in factories, in clubs, in offices, in stores, and sometimes on street corners. The more reliable ones, because they are based on larger numbers of ballots which are secured from a wider area, are conducted by newspapers and magazines. Metropolitan newspapers frequently print ballots in the paper which may be removed, marked, and mailed to the newspaper office by the readers of the paper. The *Literary Digest*, during recent presidential campaigns, has made reliable estimates on the outcome of the elections by means of the straw votes which it has taken. This information is gathered by mailing ballots to persons who live in all parts of the United States. As the ballots are returned a count is made, and publicity is given to the results in this magazine and, in turn, in the newspapers which see value in the returns.

Watching the Returns. Many citizens who make politics a hobby are certain to await the returns from the election boards on the nights of the primary and of the general elections. They do this by assembling in large crowds before the bulletin boards of newspaper offices where they await the announcements, in one form or another, of the returns which are assembled as the minutes and the hours of the evening pass. These crowds commence to assemble soon after the polls close and remain quite frequently until after midnight, by

which time the results of the election are usually no longer in doubt. Many who watch the returns visit the theaters and halls which are used as headquarters for the night by each political party in the city, in the district, or in the county. At these places one is likely to see the party leaders, and here the party workers gather to make their returns and to secure the reports on the election. Those persons who do not care to visit the newspaper bulletin boards and the party headquarters may remain at home for the evening of election day where they can check returns from the radio, or phone the newspaper offices for the latest information on the results. There are many citizens who make an event of election night by giving out by attending parties, by tramping the streets for returns, and by participating in victory parades.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 What three classes of citizens may be made up on the basis of their interest and activity in politics?
- 2 What is there about politics that attracts those who make it a hobby?
- 3 What often leads people into active participation in politics?
- 4 What were the early experiences of Joseph Tumulty that caused him to become active in political life?
- 5 What activities often serve as stepping stones to political influence?
- 6 What is meant by the political club? What need does it fill in a community?
- 7 What interesting governmental activities attract large numbers of onlookers?
- 8 How can politics widen one's circle of acquaintances?
- 9 In what ways may politics supplement one's business income?
- 10 Give examples of people who have made politics a supplement to business.
- 11 Why are lawyers often politically active?
- 12 What has been the influence of newspaper men on politics? Why are they in a good position to become political forces?
- 13 What means may be used in predicting political results? Why is this an interesting pastime to many people?
- 14 What is meant by a straw ballot? What magazines and newspapers regularly take straw ballots?
- 15 What are the activities of large numbers of people on election nights?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Criticize the use of politics as a means of supplementing one's income. Can you distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate means of doing this?
- 2 What would be the effect on political life in general if large numbers of our citizens made politics a hobby? How might this affect professional politicians?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. Are you acquainted with any persons in your community who make a hobby of politics? What does their participation consist of? How did they come to be interested in politics?
- 2 Is any importance attached to voting in your precinct, your ward, your county, or your state? Why? Have you ever spent the evening of election day in getting returns? What did you and your friends do?
- 3 On the basis of the vote of two and of four years earlier can you predict the outcome of the next election in your congressional district?

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Chapter 24 PUBLIC SERVICE AS A CAREER

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To show how some distinguished persons have made public service a career
- 2 To explain how one may enter political life
- 3 To depict the opportunities for a career in public life

WE HAVE observed that many citizens are interested in maintaining the political machine (Chapter 22), and that other citizens are interested in politics merely as a hobby (Chapter 23). Furthermore, we shall see that some men have made careers for themselves in politics. These men either choose public service as their life-work as others choose medicine, theology, law, teaching, business, railroading, or the trades, or more often they drift into it. Any man or woman who devotes the major portion of his life to holding office or working for the government in a subordinate capacity may be said to have made a career of public service. There are many persons who have done this. We shall turn to a consideration of some of the more distinguished ones in order to look at some of the significant things which they did and to see something of the forces and factors which attracted them to politics.

SOME DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVANTS

Theodore Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt was such a man. During his life he was a member of the New York Assembly, a delegate to many party conventions, a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, Police Commissioner of New York City, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, an army officer, Governor of New York, Vice President and President of the United States. He was in some public employment twenty-two out of the thirty-nine years he lived after finishing college. Even after he retired from the Presidency he remained active as a critic of political programs and of public officials. It has been said of him that from 1888 until his death in 1919, he was never for one instant a private citizen. Always he was active in public affairs.

Born into an atmosphere of culture and refinement, educated in the oldest and most exclusive of schools, inheriting a fortune which exempted him from earning his living, Roosevelt took an early interest in politics. Before he left Harvard he was affiliated with a political club. Soon after he became active in the Republican district club near his New York City home. This association brought to him the party nomination for the New York Assembly and, later, his election.

His budding political career was temporarily halted by ill health and the young Roosevelt spent two years on a western ranch. Here he gained more than vigorous good health, he also secured the confidence and respect of western people and of hundreds of persons from all ranks of life. Later when he organized a volunteer cavalry regiment for the Spanish-American War, the "Rough Riders" as he called them, he formed it from a mixture of untutored western cowboys and aristocratic Harvard sportsmen.

In 1886 he was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for Mayor of New York City. Shortly afterwards he began six years of service on the United States Civil Service Commission, where he fought strongly to apply the merit system in the appointment of federal office holders. Later as Police Commissioner of New York City he attempted to improve the police service, to secure the enforcement of all laws, and also to protect the right of minority groups to enjoy freedom of assembly and speech. After that he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy where he exposed the weaknesses in

equipment and in the training of the navy personnel. He became what is known as a "big navy" man and coined the phrase which has become famous among the advocates of preparedness, "Speak softly, but carry a big stick." Roosevelt thought of the navy as the "big stick" of the United States. When he was President he occasionally came to grips with Congress because they were not always willing to approve his requests for naval appropriations.

After a short but active campaign in Cuba during the Spanish-American War in the summer of 1898, Roosevelt returned to New York and was elected Governor. Two years later he was chosen Vice President of the United States and succeeded to the Presidency on September 14, 1901, after the death of President McKinley. There were many persons who predicted, and a few who hoped, that Roosevelt's election to the unimportant and inconspicuous office of Vice President would mark the end of his political career. Roosevelt himself had some misgivings on the matter. Instead he was suddenly elevated into the highest office, and soon came to be recognized as one of the most forceful and dynamic persons to sit in the presidential chair.

Part of this was due to his extraordinary energy and versatility. As President he took the lead in the building of the Panama Canal, in the settling of the Russo-Japanese War, in the arbitration of such severe labor disputes as the Anthracite Coal Strike of 1902, in the attempts to control the trusts, and in popularizing the conservation of natural resources. In the midst of his busy days as President he found time for making an unusually large number of contacts with scientific men, literary men, and many other persons. He seemed to have read almost everything and could talk interestingly on almost any subject. He was active in outdoor sports, hiking, riding, hunting, and camping, and even when past middle-age was an enthusiastic devotee of tennis. Like many other public men he wrote extensively, essays, editorials, and several volumes of longer works. He lived what he liked to call "The Strenuous Life."

But much of Roosevelt's strength lay in a sincere devotion to the public welfare. While it may be said that his record of reform was not entirely consistent, and even though he may have sometimes been unduly ambitious for himself, these criticisms, even if true, detract in no way from his personal and political integrity. He knew, perhaps better than any man of his time, the wishes and desires of

the people, not of one class alone, but of all classes. He was always courageous and vigorous. After he left the Presidency he traveled the world, he explored the tropics, he hunted big game, but he never lost his close touch with politics. He made a dramatic though unsuccessful race for the Presidency in 1912. He then retired to his home where he kept up a constant stream of written comment on public affairs. His daughter Alice became the wife of Nicholas Longworth, Congressman from Ohio and Speaker of the House of Representatives for several years. His son, Theodore, has also been active in state and national politics.

William Jennings Bryan. William Jennings Bryan, in addition to the practice of law, to lecturing, and to editorial work, devoted a considerable share of his life to public service. He served for four years in Congress, he was a delegate to five national party conventions, he was a candidate for the United States Senate, he commanded troops during the Spanish-American War, he was Secretary of State under President Wilson. For almost two decades he was the most influential person in the Democratic party, wielding enough influence to secure the presidential nomination for himself on three occasions (1896, 1900, and 1908) and to dictate the nomination of Woodrow Wilson in 1912. In 1920 he was an influential figure at the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, and as late as 1924, twenty-eight years after his first presidential nomination, he was wielding a strong influence in his party's national convention in New York. The remarkable fact about Bryan is that while he spent an active life in politics, his office holding in the federal government was limited to about six years, four in Congress and two as Secretary of State.

His daughter, Ruth Bryan Owen, was elected to Congress for several terms and has served as Minister to Denmark. Like her father she has distinguished herself as a platform lecturer, although she has not been known as a political reformer as was her father.

Bryan took an active interest in politics even as a boy. At the age of sixteen he journeyed to St. Louis from his home in Illinois to attend his first National Convention, where a policeman assisted him into the convention hall through a window. After that, to the time of his death, Bryan attended every National Convention of his party except three, and during these three absences he was nominated for the Presidency twice. When he went to the convention of

1896 as a young newspaper man he had little hope of winning the presidential nomination, but his party conferred that honor upon him after he delivered his famous "Cross of Gold" speech in defense of the unlimited coinage of silver. In his political career he advocated the free coinage of silver, the independence of the Philippines, international peace, the income tax, the direct primary, and the curbing of the power of big business and the trusts. He was constantly urging his party to action against the "special privileges" of the few. In his generation he was one of the leading spokesmen of the aspirations and hopes of the western farmers. He dreamed of the good and happy life for the common man. His followers were many, but he was always considered "unsound" by the propertied and privileged groups.

Bryan was essentially a reformer, but he was patient about achieving reforms. He knew that all of the desirable things in government could not be achieved in a day or even in a decade. He seemed willing to plod on ceaselessly in order that conditions might be improved. His chief strength lay in the superior appeal he was able to make from the public platform. In the days when the Chautauqua was a prominent institution in our country Bryan spoke in many places, numbering his listeners by the thousands. There have been few men in public life who could talk more pleasingly or more convincingly. In addition to his platform ability he is reputed to have had a remarkable ability for remembering those who were his supporters, even though they served in a minor capacity. His friendly smile convinced people that he was interested in them and their aspirations.

In his later life he seemed to grow tired of politics and turned to social reform. He joined the crusade of prohibition legislation. In conjunction with this activity he opposed the enlightened teaching of science in the schools and actually appeared as one of the prosecutors in the Scopes anti-evolution trial in Tennessee.

Robert M. La Follette. Another distinguished American citizen of recent decades was Robert M. La Follette, who devoted thirty-four years of his life to holding elective offices. He was a county attorney for four years, a member of the lower house of Congress for six years, Governor of Wisconsin for five years, resigning to become United States Senator, which position he held from 1906

until his death in 1925. In 1924 he was the Progressive candidate for President, polling more than 4,000,000 votes.

La Follette received an excellent education in the public schools and the state university of his native state, Wisconsin. Almost as soon as he left college, he entered public life. Eventually he developed a following of progressive Republicans who came to control the government of the state of Wisconsin. Here he instigated many democratic reforms. The direct primary was enacted so that the control of the party would ultimately lie with the rank and file of the party members. The railroad corporations and other public utilities were put under rigid control. The tax system was modified so that the burden would be shifted to those wealthy persons and corporations who were most able to pay. The quality of state administration was greatly improved and the state university was used extensively in the co-operative solution of problems of state government.

In his years as a Senator, La Follette attempted to extend "The Wisconsin Idea" to national affairs. He advocated the use of the initiative and the referendum in national elections, the curbing of the power of the Supreme Court, the development of better methods for the control of big business, national legislation to protect the workers, the elimination of graft and the spoils system, and the maintenance of peace through complete isolation from European affairs. While all of La Follette's proposals aroused great opposition, and he was considered to be something of a "radical" by most citizens, he always commanded the respect of his adversaries due in part to his recognized sincerity and honesty, and in part to the dogged and intelligent way in which he worked.

Actually, of course, the country has seen a number of the La Follette proposals gain general acceptance. His whole program was based on the general principle that the remedy for the evils of democracy is more democracy. This he coupled with a conviction that it is possible to find expert public officials who are sincerely devoted to the public service.

One son, Robert, Jr., was elected to the vacancy in the Senate which his father's death created, and still sits (1936), having been twice re-elected. Another son, Philip, has been elected Governor of Wisconsin on two occasions.

The story of the elder La Follette is that of an ambitious and well-educated young man, who set out on a public career and en-

countered opposition all along the way. He came to control the political life of his state through the rugged and fearless methods which he used in carrying issues to the voters. He was a tireless campaigner and he enjoyed nothing more than the job of discussing the political issues of the day with his constituents, whether he was Congressman, Governor, or United States Senator.

Other Public Servants. Roosevelt, Bryan, and La Follette of the older generation of American politicians are not the only men who have made public service a career. We might take the case of Franklin D. Roosevelt who served in the state Senate in New York. Later he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy and served in this capacity during the Wilson era. In 1920 he was the Democratic nominee for Vice President. He has attended a number of National Conventions of his party and three times placed the name of Alfred E. Smith in nomination for the Presidency. From 1929 to 1933 he served as Governor of New York and in March, 1933, became President of the United States. Or we might take the instance of Calvin Coolidge who held political office almost constantly from 1899 to 1929, when he retired from the Presidency. Among other offices, some of which were of minor importance, Coolidge was Governor of Massachusetts, Lieutenant-Governor, and a member of the state Senate.

One of the colorful persons of contemporary political life is Fiorella H. La Guardia, elected Mayor of New York in 1933. Since 1901, beginning when he was only nineteen years of age, he has been almost constantly in the employ of the public. He has to his credit in public life nine years in the consular and the immigration service. He served for twelve years as a Congressman and four years in important posts in the state and in the city governments of New York. In addition he found time to volunteer for military service during the World War. Alfred E. Smith is another man who was in public office almost every day of his life from the time he became a clerk in the New York courts in 1895 to the time that he retired as Governor in 1929. For twelve years he served in the state legislature and for eight years (four terms) he gave his state highly intelligent political leadership as Governor.

Gifford Pinchot is a dynamic character who served two terms as Governor of Pennsylvania and gave his state a high order of public service. On three occasions (1914, 1926, and 1934) he was an

unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate. He served as Commissioner of Forestry in Pennsylvania and early in his career of public service he was Chief of the Forestry Service of the United States. Cordell Hull, before his acceptance of the post of Secretary of State, served in one or the other houses of Congress for twenty-four years. George W. Norris of Nebraska, in the United States Senate since 1913, served for ten years in the House. Robert F. Wagner, before his election to the United States Senate, served for seven years as a justice of the New York Supreme Court and prior to his holding that responsible position he served for thirteen years in the New York Senate. Hiram Johnson, before his election to the United States Senate, was governor of California. William E. Borah has given the best years of his life to the service of his country in the Senate.

Charles Evans Hughes has been Governor of New York, twice a member of the United States Supreme Court, resigning once to become a candidate for President. He also served as Secretary of State and for a time was a judge on the World Court. William Howard Taft was a federal judge, Governor General of the Philippines, Secretary of War, President, and Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Oliver Wendell Holmes served on the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and on the Supreme Court of the United States for a total service of more than forty-nine years.

Daniel Hoan has served as Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee for so many years that he has come to be a national figure in American municipal politics. Clarence A. Dykstra, the city manager of Cincinnati since 1930, had an extensive experience in the theory and the practice of municipal government in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Cleveland, extending as far back as 1907, when he became an instructor in political science.

A number of women have pursued careers of public service. Julia Lathrop for years did social work in Illinois and served on the state board of charities before becoming the first head of the Children's Bureau in the federal Department of Labor. Grace Abbott, who succeeded her in the Children's Bureau, also had a long career in public work. Josephine Roche, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in 1935, has had varied and distinguished experience in both government work and in social reform. The Director of the Mint under President Franklin D. Roosevelt is Miss Nellie Tayloe

Ross, who was formerly the Governor of Wyoming Frances Perkins, before becoming Secretary of Labor, served on the New York State Safety Commission, and over ten years on the New York State Industrial Board. These women, and others, have devoted a considerable part of their lives to doing work connected with governmental activity.

Humble Beginnings. If we examine the records of these men and women in detail we find that almost all of them first entered the political field in some minor capacity and had experience in some humble positions in city, county, state, or federal government. Thus we see that Theodore Roosevelt and Alfred E. Smith began their political careers in the New York Assembly. Franklin Roosevelt started on his way to political success through election to the state Senate of New York. George W. Norris and the elder Robert La Follette started out on long careers in the United States Senate by winning their first elections as county prosecutors. William Howard Taft began his climb to the Presidency and to the chief Justiceship of the United States Supreme Court by having served his first governmental apprenticeship as a minor appointee in the revenue bureau of the federal government. Calvin Coolidge once held such humble posts as city attorney and membership in the state Senate. Grover Cleveland was Mayor of Buffalo and sheriff of Erie County before he became Governor of New York and later President.

However, there are notable exceptions to this. Woodrow Wilson moved rapidly from the presidency of Princeton University to the Governorship of New Jersey and shortly after to the Presidency of the United States. Herbert Hoover's only political office, before becoming President, consisted of the seven years which he served as Secretary of Commerce.

Enter Through the Party. While party regularity is thought by many to be objectionable, nevertheless it is the one sure route by which persons are rewarded with appointments or with election to office. If one wants to make politics a career it is quite necessary to affiliate oneself with one of the major parties. Membership in minor parties has not brought political success in the United States as it has in European countries. The parties expect regular support from their members. In turn they attempt to reward the members who have given consistent allegiance. Thus we find many times that party

members support candidates of their party against their own better judgment, only because they deem party loyalty more important than adherence to their individual judgments

If one wants to remain in politics, party regularity is important. For a generation there has been a progressive element in the Republican party, the membership of which has not been in sympathy with the more conservative element. It is important to observe, however, that these progressives have held to the Republican label. This is true of George W. Norris, of the La Follettes, until the election of 1934, and also of such men as Borah and Johnson. This retention of party labels has in no way interfered with the valuable contributions which these men have made to public life.

Starting Young. If one is to have a career in public service it may not be absolutely essential that he begin his career early in life, but it is desirable that he do so. Thus we find that Thomas Jefferson had had extensive experience in Virginia politics before he wrote the Declaration of Independence at the age of thirty-three. James Madison was an experienced statesman and a scholar in politics when he was largely responsible for drafting the Constitution at the age of thirty-six. Henry Clay had not reached the constitutional age of thirty years when he was first elected to the United States Senate. Lincoln was only twenty-five when he was elected to the Illinois legislature. Bryan was barely of the constitutional age to become President when he first received the presidential nomination. Theodore Roosevelt was elected to the New York Assembly at twenty-three and was less than forty-three when he took the oath as President. Franklin Roosevelt was only twenty-eight when he was elected to the New York State Senate. The elder La Follette was out of college only nine years when he was elected Congressman from Wisconsin, while his son, Robert, Jr., was elected to the United States Senate at the age of thirty to fill the vacancy created by his father's death. Rush D. Holt, the "baby Senator" from West Virginia, had not attained his constitutional majority when he was elected to the United States Senate in 1934.

Career Men. In addition to the men who remain in public life through election as party men there are those who continue to serve in one capacity or another by appointment. They are known as career men, and they make the public service their life work. William Phillips is a notable example of the career man in our govern-

ment service. Still a relatively young man, he has been associated with the State Department and the diplomatic service for more than thirty years. At different times he has been Minister to Holland, Ambassador to Belgium and Minister to Canada. He has been head of various bureaus in the State Department and has served as Under Secretary of State. William C. Bullitt served in the State Department and as a special agent for the government before being sent to Russia as Ambassador. A. T. Adee served for a half century in the State Department and the diplomatic service. The officers of the army and of the navy, the technicians in the public health service, the forestry service, the agricultural service, the treasury department, and other government services are usually career men. Postal employees, including assistant postmasters who really manage our post-offices, are career men, as are the workers in the legislative reference bureaus who give expert advice to legislators in the drafting of legislation.

Need for Financial Security. Some persons could not be induced to enter the public service as a life-work because they cannot afford it financially. A campaign for election to Congress costs the candidate a large amount of money, as does a candidacy for any public office. Even after the candidate is elected he must stand again and again for re-election, each campaign costing large sums of money. The salary which Congressmen receive (\$10,000 a year) is scarcely sufficient to maintain two residences—one in the home district and one in Washington—unless the Congressman and his family live simply and modestly. Some United States Senators have been obliged, because of the absence of a private fortune, to have their families and themselves forego the pleasures of Washington society. Then, too, government posts under the federal civil service have not been especially attractive because of the limited salary which has been attached to them. Many young men of a former generation did not enter the public service because they thought they could make more money in private business.

This situation makes it somewhat necessary that politicians be men who have sufficient private income to make it possible for them to enter public life. Theodore Roosevelt's small personal fortune enabled him to make a career of politics. The same is true of his distant cousin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, as well as of Bronson Cutting, who served with distinction in the United States Senate from

New Mexico, and of James Couzens in the United States Senate from Michigan. Gifford Pinchot is reputed to be a man of considerable wealth and this has made it possible for him to engage almost constantly in public affairs. It is claimed that almost all of the members of President Hoover's cabinet were millionaires, and the United States Senate has been somewhat sneeringly referred to as "the millionaire's club." Alfred E. Smith was not a wealthy man when he started in politics but he was able to make a small fortune from the lucrative fees of the sheriff's office.

How can we encourage young citizens of ability to enter the public service? Raising salaries might be an inducement. Then, too, there might be certainty of financial security in old age if a man retires from public employment after a long term of service. This could be achieved through pensions or retirement allowances, and is done quite extensively in the federal service and in some cities. Furthermore, we might encourage an ideal of public service among young people so that honest, efficient, and satisfactory service might be the guiding principle of conduct. We have many honest policemen, many competent firemen, almost a million public school teachers, a large number of courteous and efficient postal employees—all engaged in the public service. It is worthy of note, in this connection, that there are thousands of men and women in federal, state, or municipal service who could make more than their present salary if they were employed by private enterprises, but who, because of their idealism and desire to serve, remain in the public service. The commissioner of water and light in Springfield, Illinois, receives a salary of only \$3,500, one much smaller than the manager of a similar privately-owned plant would receive for performing an essential public service. A. A. Berle, Jr., is reported to have accepted the post of City Chamberlain of New York City only on condition that the salary be reduced. The superintendent of schools in Chicago receives a salary of \$15,000, which is only one-fourth as large as the salary of a railroad president who was one of the severest critics of public expenditures in Chicago. This, in spite of the fact that the receipts and expenditures of the school system are greater than those of the railroad of which this high-salaried man was president. The President of the United States receives a salary smaller than the vice presidents of some corporations. The governors of states

receive exceedingly small salaries when contrasted with those of corporation heads doing business in their jurisdictions.

The Call to Public Service. It is worth noting that this rather extensive list of names of citizens who have made public service a career could be multiplied many times if we should attempt to include all such persons in a public service roll of honor. Many of the persons whose names might be included in such a roll of honor are men and women who have been devoted to the public welfare. As a rule we find that they would not be political bosses in the sense of being despoilers of the public trust and purveyors of dishonesty in government. Generally we find them sincerely devoted to the public welfare and patriotic in the best sense of the term—to the end that America will be a better place to live because they have participated in its affairs. David Lawrence¹ presents a challenge on this problem to the citizens of America and chiefly to the young citizens when he writes:

It will be conceded that a perfect theory of government can in practice be nullified by those whose character and training is full of imperfection.

Outside of the national capital there is not the same appraisal of the work of members of Congress that there is in Washington by those who see at first hand the effort of conscientious public servants to do what seems to them the just and fair thing in the balancing of interest against interest or group against group.

If there is, therefore, outside of Washington a feeling that Congress, for example, is too often engaged in irrelevant tasks or that the seeking after sensation by the demagogue is the rule rather than the exception, it is not likely to persuade young men that here is a place of noble purpose or an opportunity for real statesmanship.

We shall make no progress by tearing down and destroying such faith as does exist in the integrity and honest intent of those who do represent us and we shall get further by constructive effort to introduce in our personnel of government men and women who shall help to raise it in the esteem of their countrymen.

But where shall we get them? Will a man who has achieved success in private business forsake his life work for a career in government if to do so means to enter a maelstrom of abuse or an arena of mutual suspicion? Too often the paths of party politics are strewn with the tragedies of a broken heart and a broken spirit because in the competitive struggle for place there remains the instinct of the savage to gain advantage at any cost. A sense of chivalry, a sense of sportsmanship,

¹ *The Other Side of Government*, pp. 270-72. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons.

a sense of fair play to an opponent is not acquired like a bit of learning. It is ingrained in character. There have been men who won public office by misrepresentation of the acts of an opponent, by deliberate distortion of facts, and by appealing to the prejudices of an electorate, but in not a few cases has it been observed that sooner or later this defect in character leads to other manifestations of inadequacy which in the end means defeat.

The colleges nowadays place much emphasis on true sportsmanship, on the ability of the individual to conquer his own instinct to take advantage of every means, fair or foul. Many candidates for office would gladly risk what is known as a clean campaign if they could only be assured that the electorate would be fair, that it would not accept one-sided statements without asking, at least, for the facts from the other side. So the rank and file have an obligation too.

Examining the biographies of members of a recent Congress it was learned that out of 435 members of the House of Representatives, only 257 stated that they attended college. This is not much more than half. As for the Senate, only 62 out of 96 have been at a college.

It is remarkable the number who have won their way to the highest legislative body in the land without a college training. Some of those who had the benefit of college training may not possess the acuteness or orderliness of thought of those who did not attend college. And some of those who did not have the advantage of a college education might conceivably have advanced more rapidly had they been able to attend college.

We cannot escape the fact, however, that each year the colleges are acquiring a larger and larger number of students. The Federal Bureau of Education reports that there are about one million students in American colleges and that in high schools we have more enrolled than in all the other countries of the world put together.

This augurs well for an electorate of the future, capable of intelligent discrimination in the choice of public servants. It gives a hint, too, of the opportunity that the colleges and universities have to send to their city governments, their state governments and their Federal government here, men and women of capacity as well as character. For the problems of the future will not be solved by mere maneuvers of party politics, by the hit-or-miss alignment of individuals on an affirmative or negative side simply to gratify the instinct of oppositeness. It will require an economic background, a knowledge of the fundamentals of practical business tempered with a tolerance and idealism that will tend to repress greed or injustice.

More than thirty years ago, Woodrow Wilson, then a college professor, speaking at the Sesquicentennial of Princeton University, entitled his address "Princeton for the Nation's Service." It was long before he himself became President of the United States, long before he could have dreamed that some day he would give his life to the

service of the world. In that address he painted a picture of the future which seems now even more pertinent.

"I have studied the history of America, I have seen her grow great in the paths of liberty and of progress by following after great ideals. Every concrete thing that she has done has seemed to rise out of some abstract principle, some vision of the mind. Her greatest victories have been the victories of peace and of humanity. And in days quiet and troubled alike Princeton has stood for the nation's service, to produce men and patriots. Her national tradition began with John Witherspoon, the master, and James Madison, the pupil, and has not been broken until this day. I do not know what the friends of this sound and tested foundation may have in store to build upon it, but whatever they add shall be added in that spirit and with that conception of duty. There is no better way to build up learning and increase power. A new age is before us in which, it would seem, we must lead the world. No doubt we shall set it an example unprecedented, not only in the magnitude and telling perfection of our industry and arts but also in the splendid scale and studied detail of our university establishments.

"American universities serve a free nation whose progress, whose power, whose prosperity, whose happiness, whose integrity depend upon individual initiative and the sound sense and equipment of the rank and file."

The foregoing might well be the creed of all universities and colleges to-day, a dedication to the service of the nation, for if there ever was a time when the colleges of America could assist in making governmental institutions effective, it is to-day. The mind that can sift out of the mass of color and prejudice, selfishness and intrigue, the facts about a given situation is more essential in this complex age than in the early years of the present century. Plenty of diversions exist to draw the student into other channels—the attractions of an age of science and art are tempting to the intelligent just as the material rewards of an age of intense business drama are likely to keep thin the ranks of those who aspire to statesmanship.

The public service is a vast, all-embracing institution. It does not begin with the great Federal government, so little known to the average man. It begins in the local precinct, in the tedious, monotonous, even drab tasks of an obscure locality. Its origin is in the small unit, the community. And out of it with the experience of contact with human nature grows a greater field of usefulness in county and state until ultimately in the Federal government, in the national legislature, in the executive establishment and in the judicial branch is found the opportunity for broad usefulness to the country as a whole.

No distinction need be drawn between the opportunities of service through the route of promotion by election first to one office and then higher and higher and the call to service through appointment by a city, state or national executive. It appears to require nowadays almost as

much persuasion to get people of ability to accept appointive office as it does to urge them to enter the field of politics and stand for election for a given office. It is not a sense of modesty which makes for this reluctance. It is a disinclination to become part of a system that is based on unsound methods of winning public approval and upon a belief that the electorate may be too indifferent to judge fairly a work earnestly undertaken for the public good. The effectiveness of government will be increased when we frankly commend the good things in government and the persons who perform meritoriously and when we appraise at their true value the exceptional incidents of irregularity. For as respect for government increases, so government will become better equipped to serve the people who had given it their sanction. And an improvement in administration is inevitable if the American people are kept constantly reminded not alone of the sensational episodes of political battle but of the quiet efficiency and usefulness of the other side of government.

The students of our political institutions need to recognize that we enjoy the modern benefits of organized society only because a few citizens in high public places have served the common good. Young people need to know that, despite the charges of corruption and incompetence against our public officials, we have many persons in public life who are genuinely devoted to the ideals of democracy and of wanting to serve their fellowmen. Whether we can have more persons with such a viewpoint depends entirely upon whether American citizens can critically evaluate the political conduct of men in public office.

Education for Public Service If we are to make careers of public service it is certain that we need some education to that end. There are universities in which men can secure training for city managers. The federal government, under the leadership of Leonard D. White of the United States Civil Service Commission, is contemplating a plan of action whereby young men and women of training, character, and ability may be induced to enter the public service.

That there is need for certain kinds of special training is evidenced in the wide variety of jobs which the government now performs. There is need for men in the diplomatic service who have had a breadth of training directed toward the work which they must do. There is a decided need for specially trained managers of welfare institutions. The need for county managers will create a demand for training in a type of position which will be more common in the future than it is now. Briefly, the colleges and professional schools

need to recognize that the public service presents a bright future for many young men and women.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 What is meant by making public service a career?
- 2 Tell the story of Theodore Roosevelt's life of public service
- 3 How did Bryan enter politics? Tell of his political activities. Characterize his work. What was probably Bryan's most powerful asset as a politician?
- 4 From the sketch given of Robert La Follette, what do you believe he conceived his political mission to be? Explain your conclusion in the light of his work
- 5 How are the children of Robert La Follette, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Jennings Bryan carrying on the political traditions of their families?
- 6 What men and women may be listed as having become illustrious in the field of public service?
- 7 What can be said of the political beginnings of most public servants? Can you give any notable exceptions to this rule?
- 8 What is the importance of parties as a means of engaging in politics as a career?
- 9 Why is it important that one begins politics while still comparatively young?
- 10 What is meant by "career men"? What are the opportunities for career men in politics?
- 11 Why is the lack of funds a handicap in political life? Can you suggest a means of solving this difficulty?
- 12 What does David Lawrence conceive to be the future service of educational institutions in training people for public service? What criticisms does he make of government institutions as an explanation of the lack of interest some people have in entering political life? Does he believe that improvement is apt to come?
- 13 What opportunities are there for women to become active in public life?
- 14 What is being done to provide opportunities for education in preparation for a career in public service?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 Some public men seem to use slogans and catch words. What are some that were used by prominent men? How do you think this affected their political successes? Explain

PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

2. Where and how can one secure training as a forester, as a city manager, as an accountant, as a member of the diplomatic service, and as an employee of the internal revenue bureau?
3. What inducements, other than salary, should be held out to young citizens to enter the public service?
4. Make a list of names of persons other than those included in the text who have been in the public service, giving the different positions that they held
5. Would you say that political bosses are devoted to the public service? Give reasons
6. What opportunities are there open to young men and women through the civil service of the federal government?

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. What opportunities are there for public service in your community?
2. What opportunities are open for young men and women in your state through civil service?
3. Investigate the careers of some men and women in political life who are from your community, county, or state. How did they get their start? What have they accomplished? If possible, interview some of them on the possibility for young people to enter public life today. What do they suggest should be one's formal training? What steps of an informal nature do they suggest should be taken? Prepare a report on your interview to be given before the class

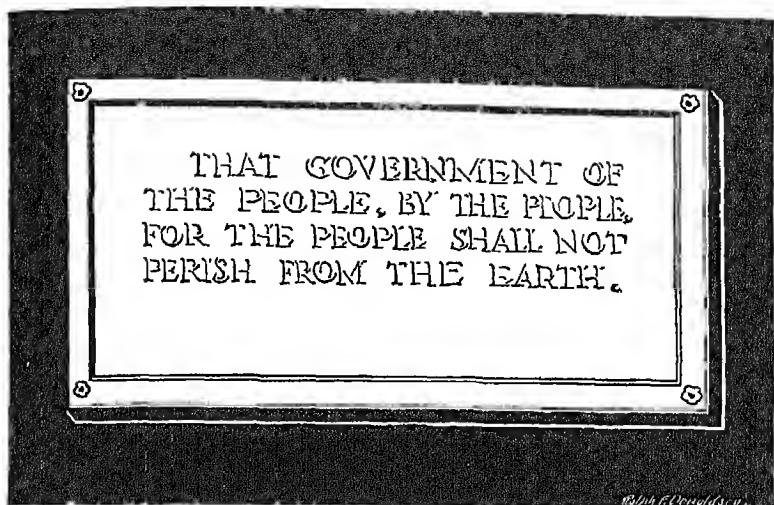
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Chapter 25 REFORM

THE PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER

- 1 To show how the reform movement developed
- 2 To consider the types of reform
- 3 To explain the work of the various kinds of people who have been interested in reform
- 4 To show the need for a program of reform

THROUGHOUT our study of government we have been brutally frank. Wherever weaknesses have appeared we have pointed them out. If graft and corruption are characteristic of American government at any time or place, they should be recognized and studied as such. To gloss them over would not only be dishonest study, it would also prevent their correction.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

However, there are many hopeful items. A large part of government, federal, state, and local, is now expert, honest, and efficient. Most of the improvement that has occurred in American government in the last thirty years, and there has been substantial improvement, has come because citizens rose up and demanded reform. Sometimes the reformers have been surprisingly few. A dozen vig-

orous and persistent citizens could clean up a city. Frequently the reformers have included numbers of women. Women representing women's clubs and social workers, especially the residents of settlement houses, have been active in the field of reform. But the story of reform, if it could be told completely, would fill many volumes with exciting, encouraging facts.¹ An excellent summary of the reform movement is presented by two prominent historians² in their illuminating volume. They write:

It was to be expected that the economic individualism, so characteristic of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, would not be permitted to reign, unmolested, forever. There had been early stirrings of revolt against the laissez-faire doctrine, as we have seen, in the West, and out of these demands for government interference there had appeared the Interstate Commerce Act, the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Populist movement, and the free silver agitation. The total accomplishments of the western dissidents, however, had been slight. But the first fifteen years of the twentieth century were to see appearing a new and ever growing protest which, before it had run its course, was to sweep the whole country and was to effect a profound transformation in popular attitudes both toward government itself and toward the relations of government and business. The movement for reform was general, but never did there actually appear a united sentiment to support an integrated program. Said the protestants: there was need for greater intelligence, more devotion, more honesty in government, there was need for the acceptance, by industry, of greater responsibility toward the workers and the victims of the industrial process. There made their appearance, therefore, reformers who singled out various evils for attack: there were the conservationists, the settlement house workers, the suffragists, the advocates of direct as opposed to machine government, the budget experts, the municipal reformers, the commission-government supporters, the advocates of workmen's compensation laws, mothers' assistance, and liberal factory codes. More often than not, one was to find a small coterie of earnest persons agitating for the acceptance of but one principle, or at most a related group of them. And the reformers, very often, expressed not the slightest interest in one another's programs. In other words, the period saw no organized or disciplined movement, led by recognized chiefs, who had designed a plan of attack and who were prepared to advance from the capture of one outpost to the next. What there was, really,

¹ The student is urged to read Charles A. Beard's essay in Kirby Page's *Recent Gains in American Civilization*, pp. 3-24, in order to secure a brief but accurate picture of the reform movement.

² Hacker, Louis M., and Kendrick, B. B., *The United States Since 1865*, pp. 413-15. Reprinted by permission of F. S. Crofts & Co., publishers.

was something akin to a mass movement, as though a great horde of people had suddenly become inspired by the same objectives and had simultaneously hit upon the idea of taking to the road. Indeed, it might be said that American democracy was on the march in the first decade and a half of the new century.

The forces that had unleashed this curious movement were diverse, some being native and some foreign in origin. First, perhaps, was the influence of the Populist agitation which, though defeated in 1896 in the national arena, was to have a profound and lasting effect in the states. The second influence was the appearance of reform governors, of whom Robert La Follette in Wisconsin was at once typical and the best known. These men fought, often single-handed, to break down the insidious alliance between business and machine politics, to compel reluctant legislators to give the electorate a measure of direct government, and to obtain enlightened factory codes. The third influence was a growing familiarity with the doctrines of socialism and with the progress that state socialism was making in European countries and in the Antipodes. The American socialist press, which was remarkably active and intelligent (because it had the whole of European radicalism from which to draw), had a much greater effect than the support given to its political program showed. While Americans might not be prepared to vote for socialist candidates they were quite ready to believe many of the things these persons had to say of the deplorable state of affairs existing in government and business. The fourth influence was the appearance of the "muckrakers" in the new popular magazines. The fifth influence was the work of the political and social thinkers. These last two we may notice a little more fully.

The "muckrakers" were given their name by Theodore Roosevelt in 1906, and he used the term invidiously. The time had come for a halt to be called on the mere collection of noxious facts about business and government, let us, said the President, turn our attention to constructive work. But there was no denying that public enlightenment could not have advanced very far had it not been for the sensational tales of the young magazine writers, who displayed a diligence in tracking down scandals which was nothing less than astonishing. Encouraged by the editors of a group of popular and highly successful magazines, staff contributors and free-lance writers scoured the land to collect examples of existing corruption. They went into the cities and wrote stories of franchise sales, the fraudulent letting of contracts, payroll padding, the alliance of the police with vice, of foul slum dwellings, and the sufferings of the poor. They visited state capitals and returned with tales of the insidious and pervasive influence of lobbyists, the bribing of legislators, franchise-grabbing, and the workings of the "invisible government" of machine politics. They looked into the conduct of business enterprise and exposed worthless stock schemes, dishonest insurance companies, and the crooked practices of monopolies.

A group of notable exposés appeared as a result. First in the list stood Ida M. Tarbell's *History of the Standard Oil Company* which *McClure's* began printing in 1903. Lincoln Steffens' *Shame of the Cities*, an exposure of municipal corruption in six metropolises, was printed in *McClure's* in 1904. Ray Stannard Baker, for the same magazine, wrote *Railroads on Trial* in 1905 and 1906. *Everybody's* printed Thomas W. Lawson's *Frenzied Finance* in 1905. Charles E. Russell, for the same magazine, wrote a series of articles on the Beef Trust in 1905. Judge Ben B. Lindsey, in 1909, wrote for *Everybody's* a group of articles on criminal law and juvenile delinquency. Samuel Hopkins Adams, in 1905, began the publication of a number of articles in *Collier's* concerning patent medicines and how newspapers were being muzzled by the heavy advertising revenues derived from proprietary medicine manufacturers. David Graham Phillips, in the *Cosmopolitan*, in 1906, wrote a caustic series on the business affiliations of United States Senators.

A number of novelists swelled the ranks of the pamphleteers and employed as their themes the evil influences being exerted by Big Business in the American Life. The most important of these works, as a document of social injustice, was Upton Sinclair's *Jungle* (1906), which concerned itself with the Chicago stockyards. Frank Norris' *Octopus* (1901) had as its subject the struggles of the farmers against the domination of the Southern Pacific Railroad, and his *The Pit* (1902) told of the operations of traders on the wheat exchange. Winston Churchill in his *Compton* (1906) depicted the political processes in a New England state, while David Graham Phillips wrote a number of novels of the new plutocracy. To the exposures of the "muckrakers" might be traced certain definite reforms: the life insurance investigations in New York State, the passage of the Pure Foods and Drug Act, and the Meat Inspection Act by Congress, the purging by newspapers of their advertising columns, more vigorous control over the listing of securities by the stock exchanges, the formation of various social work organizations.

The political and social thinkers did their share in the organization of American public opinion. In his *Promise of American Life* (1909) and *Progressive Democracy* (1914) Herbert Cioly called for the formulation of a social program and the creation of a government that would be responsive to democracy's needs. He was not committed to any particular economic or political doctrines but preached the ideas of a more alert leadership and a larger social and industrial outlook by government. Walter Lippmann's *A Preface to Politics* (1913) and *Drift and Mastery* (1914) were widely read. Deeply influenced by H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw, and Graham Wallas, this young New York writer made a brilliant appeal for a change of motives in a world dominated by the hunt for profits and ruled over by a routinized officialdom. To humanize politics, Lippmann pointed out, it was first necessary to

understand the needs and aspirations of men, only then might society begin its preoccupation with governmental forms. Walter Weyl, in his *The New Democracy* (1912), after attacking the plutocracy in business and government, outlined a complete program for political reform. Jane Addams contributed to the swelling chorus her *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907), *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* (1909), and *A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil* (1912). All these were enthusiasts, all these were sure that the new day could be hastened without the need for stirring up the class hatreds that were so much a part of the creeds of the socialists and syndicalists.

Working in other vineyards, and quite as effectively, were the writers on sociological jurisprudence, notably Ernest Freund and Roscoe Pound. As early as 1904 Freund began to insist that the law must place social interests before the rights of property, and he greatly extended the doctrine of the police power of the state.

TYPES OF REFORM

When we look at the whole scheme of government we are likely to see the need for reform in all departments and in all fields of government enterprise. We shall look at reform from at least four angles—structure, administration, personnel, and policies.

Structure. For a generation or more students of government have been emphasizing the importance of improving the framework or the structure of government. They claim that we need a reorganization of our government units (see Chapter 17). They are convinced that government would serve us better if we had fewer and more efficiently managed units. Furthermore, other authorities insist that city government could be improved if more intelligent consideration were given to the redrafting of city charters with a view to giving a larger measure of home rule to large cities and to metropolitan areas. Other citizens have become increasingly critical of the antiquated character of our state constitutions. They insist that these documents need to be modernized to meet the conditions of mechanical and of urban society. They also hold that the state constitutions should be simplified and abbreviated by delegating to the state legislatures, or even to city councils, the settlement of many things for which provision is made in the constitution itself. Furthermore, many citizens are convinced that some amendments should be added to the federal Constitution, whereby authority could be given to Congress to do many things in social legislation, as well as in the

field of social and economic planning, for which Congress does not now seem to have authority

Administration. Leaving the proposed reforms in the structural side of government we can turn to those which lie in the field of



Courtesy Green Bay Press Gazette

SOME FOLKS STILL TRAVEL BY OX-CART

administration One important reform which is being achieved in all fields of government is that of using budgetary methods of handling problems of public finance While the federal government and most of the state governments have sound budgetary practices, nevertheless there are many units of local government which have not adopted budget procedures Another administrative reform which needs to be achieved in all branches of government, except the federal, is that

of the further centralization of authority in the hands of the executive Governors, Mayors, and county boards should be vested with more appointive power in almost all jurisdictions. This reform is known as the short ballot and it is imperative that it be carried far in the immediate future.

Personnel. Turning now to a third phase of government in which reform should operate we need to look at the necessary improvements in the government personnel. This means that the merit system must apply more extensively than it has applied in the selection of local and state employees. It also means that the citizen, if he wants good government, must insist that selection for merit replace much that now operates as the spoils system—a condition which encourages appointments merely for party loyalty rather than for ability to do the required work.

The selection of persons for merit must be accompanied by another universal reform—that of retaining tenure in office as long as the appointee does his work well. It is strange that policemen and firemen have tenure in most cities while school teachers in some places are frequently subject to the merest whims and fancies of groups of citizens in retaining their positions. The United States postal service has developed the principle of tenure to a marked degree, as have other branches of the federal public service. Many of the states, together with many cities and counties, need to make decided improvements in their systems of tenure before the citizen can be assured of the best type of public service.

Not only are the questions of the merit system and tenure important but another personnel problem of importance is that of securing experts to do many kinds of technical work (see Chapters 5 and 18). The American citizen needs to learn that an increasingly large number of government problems must be handled by experts rather than muddled by untrained office-holders.

Policies. It is not enough that reforms are effected in the structure of government, in the improvement of administration, and in the selection of personnel. To complete the cycle of reform it is necessary, for government officials, chiefly the executives, to propose improvements in the public service. It is not enough for a state to have a school system. The Governor and the state commissioner of education should be committed to a program of definite improve-

recreational facilities. The Mayor and his administration should be willing to expand and improve the services for the benefit of all the citizens. The county board needs to have a program of action which extends not merely to roads and other basic essentials of government, but to county libraries, to county parks, and to sanitariums for the treatment of certain diseases. The federal government, through the President and his Administration, must not be content to drift, hoping that problems will solve themselves if we wait long enough. Instead, the machinery of government should be tuned to carrying out some reasonably bold experiments in order to solve the multiplicity of problems likely to face any government in the future—unemployment, housing, farm relief, reforestation and soil erosion, foreign trade, banking and investments, industrial planning, control of armaments, and many other vital questions.

REFORMERS

Back of every improvement that has been made in American government have been groups of citizens, men and women of sincerity and patience, who have labored to secure reform. What is a reformer? He is a plain, ordinary citizen who has a vision of a more effective democracy and who is willing to work to secure it. Some reformers are men and women of renown, most of them are obscure and unknown. Some promote reform through the force of their individual personalities, others function through organized groups. Their role may be illustrated by examining various types of reformers and of reforms.

Enlightened Public Officials. A considerable amount of reform in government has come at the instigation of enlightened public officials. There have been many instances of such activity in local, state, and federal government. Some of them consist of men and women who hold conspicuous posts, such as Mayors, Governors, Congressmen, and Presidents. Thus the city of Cleveland was, from 1901 to 1909, under the influence of Mayor Tom Johnson, an ardent reformer in many fields. He secured great improvement in the management of the street railways of Cleveland. He carried on a courageous fight for municipal home rule on financial matters and tax legislation. He advocated woman suffrage, freedom of political discussion, and tried consciously to elevate the political intelligence and

interest of Cleveland voters. He made Cleveland one of the best-governed cities in America. Notable reforms in state government, achieved in both cases at the instigation of the state Governor, have occurred in New York and Illinois (see Chapter 6). The work of Presidents Cleveland and Theodore Roosevelt in connection with civil service reform was notable. So was that of Senator Norris of Nebraska in securing the adoption of the twentieth amendment to the federal Constitution, and the unicameral legislature in his own state. Other instances of the work of conspicuous public officials were described in Chapter 24.

However, the impetus for reform comes also from subordinate officials, heads of departments, bureau chiefs, sometimes even humble clerks and assistants. These men and women are in the closest possible touch with government as it actually functions. They see, at close range, its delays and inefficiencies. Frequently they set out patiently to achieve reform. Much of the improvement in the federal treatment of the Indians has come about as a result of the activity of John Collier and other persons connected with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Formal recommendations by this Bureau have guided Congress in Indian legislation. Similar activity has occurred in the Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture, in the Children's and Women's Bureaus of the Labor Department, and in many other places. In states and cities experts in various capacities have led in improving their respective governments. The whole story of reform is frequently a very inspiring one, with many enlightened public officials playing important roles.

Newspaper Men and Reform Every large city and many small cities have benefited from the crusading zeal of some newspapers and of some newspaper men. They have been aware at times of the current evils existing in government. They have exposed the evils of poor housing, of petty and of major graft in government, of improper and insufficient recreation, of the alliance of governmental officials with corrupting forces. Jacob Riis, a New York reporter of a generation ago, did much to arouse the people of that city to the conditions of congestion, of housing, and of the absence of recreation which existed among them. Lincoln Steffens, once known as the "prince of the muckrakers," gained the confidence of many men in public life and was able to write illuminatingly on conditions which as they pertained to our city government during the early

part of the present century Ernest Gruening, as author and as editor, has carried on a courageous fight in attempting to enlighten the public on the financial management and the operation of electric utilities in the United States Bruce Bliven, editor of *The New Republic*, and Oswald Garrison Villard, as editor of *The Nation*, have offered constructive criticisms on questions of public policy through the journals of opinion which they have edited The Indianapolis *Times* has crusaded to improve government in Indiana A number of southern papers have carried on editorial campaigns against lynching The editor of the Canton, Ohio, *Daily News* was murdered because of his journalistic campaign to rid that city of the alliance between the police and the criminal elements

Social Workers and Reform. During the last half century the settlement house movement has developed in the United States Ever since 1889, when Jane Addams¹ and her associates began their work at Hull House, the residents of the settlement houses and the social workers have zealously engaged in securing reforms which would protect citizens whose status needed improvement Thus we find Lillian Wald and her co-workers, at the Henry Street Settlement in New York, exerting influence on the city government and on the school officials of that metropolis to secure many things which would benefit the under-privileged citizens of the lower East Side At the same time Graham Taylor,² Julia Lathrop, Mary McDowell, and others in Chicago were bringing pressure to bear in their city as well as in their state, with the result that pioneer welfare legislation was enacted We also find Florence Kelley advocating the elimination of child labor Hastings Hart spent much of his life pointing the way to improved prisons and also to the improved care of children residing in institutions Alice Hamilton spent years investigating industrial diseases and struggled to secure legislation which would relieve or prevent them Mary Richmond effectively exploited the idea that problems of welfare and relief must be handled unemotionally and scientifically, and that trained workers must be employed to do this work, while Mary Van Kleeck has pointed the

¹ An estimate was once made of Miss Addams that she was "the best-known woman of the world" Students should know of her work through *Twenty Years at Hull House* and *The Second Twenty Years*

² One critic has written "Chicago is more civilized because Graham Taylor has lived in it" Familiarity might be acquired with his *Pioneering on Social Frontiers*

way to changes in the organization and the management of industry, chiefly the coal industry

The efforts at reform on the part of the social workers might be summarized as follows:

- A Protection of women and children by
 - 1 Improving the legal status of women
 - 2 Improving the conditions of employment for women
 - 3 Securing pensions for widows
 - 4 Establishing juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations
 - 5 Moving toward the elimination of child labor
 - 6 Advocating legislation providing for maternity aid
 - 7 Securing the establishment of special schools for handicapped children
- B. Extension of security through
 - 1 Workmen's compensation
 - 2 Old age pensions
 - 3 Unemployment insurance.
 - 4 Health insurance
 - 5 Encouragement of collective bargaining
- C Improvement in the administration of public welfare through
 - 1 Organization of state welfare departments
 - 2 Urging the organization of county welfare units
 - 3. Securing trained workers in the public service, chosen on the basis of high professional standards, and retained on merit

Reform Parties. After all, the weapon which reformers must eventually use is usually the ballot. In order to vote as an effective unit, there must needs be a party. There have been cases where the reform groups have been able to obtain control of one or the other of the major political parties (see Chapter 22). In other cases, however, they have resorted to the creation of special reform parties. In New York City the "Fusionists," so-called because they included both Republicans and Democrats, made a successful campaign in 1933. The Charter party in Cincinnati is another case. Critics once thought Cincinnati was the most boss-ridden and the worst-governed city in America. Today a visitor to Cincinnati will find an exceed-

ingly well-regulated traffic system, a courteous, virile, and fine-looking group of policemen, an efficient fire department, well paved and clean streets, good boulevards, well-directed recreation, a fine municipal university, and many other well managed services

One distinguished commentator¹ on American contemporary life characterizes conditions in Cincinnati in the most pungent fashion when he writes.

The next time someone tells you nothing can be done about it, ask him about Cincinnati

New York was one of those cities which in the easy-money twenties thought nothing could be done about anything. The world belonged to the strong. They would do as they pleased no matter what the citizens thought of it. Here, then, is a tale of two cities in a nutshell.

On January 1, 1926, Jimmy Walker was crowned as monarch of Bagdad-on-the-Subway. At the same moment, little noticed by the rest of the world, Cincinnati was swearing in a new city government with Murray Seasongood as mayor. Eight full years have knocked us all about pretty roughly since that day. Now Cincinnati finds that, despite all the hard knocks, she owes some four or five million dollars less than she did then. New York owes \$680,000,000 more than she did on that fateful New Year's morning in 1926.

What were the Jimmy Walkers doing in New York and the Murray Seasongoods in Cincinnati to produce such opposite results? There must be a reason. Here it is.

For twenty years Cincinnati enjoyed the dubious distinction of being the worst-governed American city. For many years Boss George B. Cox had ruled it from his office over the Mecca saloon. In 1925 Cincinnati was an outlying dependency of a burlesque circuit. It was then ruled from an office over the Columbia "Burlesque" Theatre on Seventh Avenue and forty-seventh Street, New York, by Rudolph C. Hynicka.

Hynicka was a pupil of Cox. Cox had been a bar-fly down at Dead Man's Corner in Cincinnati. He rose to be president of a bank, owner of the Cincinnati Reds and absolute dictator of Cincinnati politics. His chief lieutenants were Rud Hynicka, who had been a reporter on the *Enquirer*, August (Garry) Herimann, who ran the waterworks and looked after the Reds, and Mike Mullens, leader of the notorious old sixth ward, alderman and Cox's contact man with the utilities. They are all dead now and when I was in Cincinnati preparations were under way to build a \$10,000 monument to the memory of the sainted Mike.

When Cox died, Rud Hynicka stepped into his shoes, both as boss of Cincinnati and as a figure in that elevating influence in our cultural life known as burlesque. As the years went by, Hynicka spent more and more time running his slapstick and hootchy-kootchy revels in New

¹ Flynn, John T., "Cincinnati Quits Burlesque," *Collier's*, May 26, 1934, p. 10. Reprinted by permission from the editors of *Collier's*.

York and directing the affairs of the Queen City perched "on the beautiful river" from his burlesque headquarters. The mayors of Cincinnati and the cuties of the burlesque wheel, judges and hoofers, comies and sheriffs, police chiefs and wiggleis, all owed their artistic and political lives to the same lordly autocrat.

A CITY IN SHAMEFUL RUIN

The corruption was classic. Contractors' rings, utilities' rings, office-holders' rings, bankers' rings, vice rings fed upon the city's bones. A city is a business. It has a plant. Cincinnati had one worth \$175,000,000. It was crumbling to ruin. The holes in the streets got a national reputation. Layers of filth and soot settled on City Hall, the floors rotted, the walls grew black, the windows opaque with grime, a fitting mural scheme to go with the rottenness which went on under its roof. There was no money to pay city bills. The police were forced to take a day or two off every month and as they died were not replaced.

All this need shock no man familiar with the tragic history of American cities. What is not so easy to fathom is the loyal support which a large city's blue-bloods gave to vulgar grafters like Hynicka. Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati's first reform mayor, put it this way:

"You cannot have burglars without fences. You cannot have political machines without the support of respectable citizens."

Hynicka, in an official investigation and under the protection of immunity, testified that there were millions in Cincinnati graft. He was himself, while county treasurer, caught red-handed and forced to disgorge \$58,000 of interest paid by banks on city moneys, which he had held onto. All this did not prevent the best citizens of Hamilton County from serving faithfully at the court of this strange dictator.

Cincinnati owns the Southern Railroad from Cincinnati to Chattanooga—a strange, yet a profitable ownership. Trustees of the courts were called on to name trustees for the railroad. The dignified judges went dutifully to the House of Minth on Seventh Avenue, New York, for their instructions. A county commissioner died. Leading citizens thought a certain prominent citizen should be named. They formed a committee and waited until the burlesque czar should visit his colonial outpost in Cincinnati and then appeared before him humbly to petition that he should permit their man's name to appear on the ballot. He was polite to them, but named his own man.

The councilmen were asked to vote a rate increase for the local power company. It was so law that even the gang-owned councilmen rebelled. From Seventh Avenue and Forty-seventh Street, Hynicka sent a wire. The new rates had been fixed by the party in collaboration with "our friends"—the power crowd. The councilmen were directed to pass the ordinance. They did so. But that telegram burned itself into the consciousness of many a Cincinnati citizen. It remains today a highlight in the shameful records of Hynicka's absentee regime.

REVOLT AT THE BALLOT BOX

Then came the end to all this through the unnoticed activation of certain small germs. Home from the wars in '18 and '19 had come many young warriors—second lones and such—eager to continue in Hamilton County the patriotic energies that had been unleashed in Flanders. They organized the Cincinnati Association and took it out in talk. That's a good way to start things. Presently Hynicka's lumbering organization planned an extra tax levy on the citizens to keep the half-bankrupt vessel afloat. The Cincinnati Association developed considerable heat about that. Murray Seasingood in particular, a well-known lawyer with a gift for public speech, grew wroth. They decided to fight the extra levy. They talked, they resolved and—to their own amazement—they conquered. They beat Hynicka.

Then they began to feel their muscles. Could it be that the citizens in this free city actually had some strength left in their good right arms? Or did Hynicka have a glass jaw after all? Then came the moment of fate. The mayor, deprived of the hoped-for revenues by the tax defeat, desperate, announced that he would close the Blanch Hospital. This was used as a tuberculosis hospital and housed four hundred unfortunates. It was a bad break for Hynicka that a man named Henry Bentley was president of the Anti-Tuberculosis League. He is a slight, wiry, incisive lawyer who had, without knowing it, a deadly talent for politics. He clapped his hat on and sped to the mayor's office.

"Do you mean to tell me you are going to turn four hundred dying people into the streets?" he asked. The mayor allowed that was his intention. Bentley, being a lawyer, rushed to his law books. There he discovered that the county and not the city should support the hospital. He rushed over to the county commissioners. He demanded they take over the hospital. They refused. Bentley knew it was the day for the weekly Rotary Club luncheon. He telephoned and asked for twenty minutes on the program. When he talked to them he had the convincing manner of a man stirred by righteous indignation. The Rotary Club not only heard, it whetted the county commissioners vigorously on the subject.

Next day Bentley inflamed the Kiwanis Club to more resolutions. He went from luncheon to luncheon and from hall to hall. The resolutions flooded in on the mayor. Then someone called to suggest that Mr. Bentley ought to call on Mr. Hynicka. Bentley would have called on the devil to keep those dying people in their beds. When Bentley got to Hynicka he found that suave impresario deeply disturbed. He urged Mr. Bentley to go again to the county commissioners. Bentley found the commissioners waiting for him. In half an hour the matter was settled, the county took over the job and the hospital was saved.

But Bentley's mind now, like Seasingood's, was on fire with strange thoughts. These mighty gentlemen in the city hall and the courthouse were plainly frightened. Immediately the Cincinnati Association took

the lead in having the whole city studied. That study resulted in what was called the Upson Report. It showed.

That Cincinnati hadn't balanced its budget in ten years

That one-half its revenues went to pay debt service

That it had issued \$7,000,000 of bonds to pay running expenses of the city and another \$14,000,000 for improvements which ought to be paid out of current revenues

THE END OF GOVERNMENT BY GRAFT

It showed plenty more—enough to rouse the Seasongoods and Bentleys and, by this time, young Charles Taft (son of the late President) to meditate definite action against the Emperor Rudolph. They had noticed that the strength of the gang lay, as might be supposed, in the ignorant Basin precincts. They had noticed also that votes piled up here on all offices where voting could be done by emblems but not on offices which had to be voted for by name.

Down on the river front the poverty-stricken colored voters were instructed to vote for "the bird with the short pants" or "the chicken with the short legs"—which was the Republican Eagle. A movement was started to do away with emblem voting. The Democratic supporters stamped the rooster, the Republican stalwarts stamped the eagle.

The new movement planned to abolish the rooster and the eagle. It declared that citizens should vote not for birds but for men. It called itself the "Birdless Ballot League." That was the beginning of the end.

Before long the leaders had decided that what Cincinnati needed was not merely a new kind of ballot but a new form of government. Before they got through they had a full-fledged campaign on for a new charter for Cincinnati. This proposed a real revolution. It proposed to do away completely with all the old forms and set up the city manager form of government.

Bentley became the campaign manager. Seasongood became the leader of the storm troops on the hustings. A battle of unprecedented fury and bitterness ensued and ended in an overwhelming victory for the reformers. The new charter was adopted and the next step was to elect the men to administer it. Here is the kind of government they had launched.

1 The citizens were to vote for no administrative officials. They would vote for nine councilmen. The councilmen would elect one of their number Mayor.

2 The Mayor would have no executive duties. He would be a ceremonial official purely.

3 The council would name a city manager to run the town. After six months he would be removable save for cause and then only after a public hearing. He would make all appointments and all contracts.

4 City employees would be appointed under strict civil service rules.

5 No city employee would be permitted to officiate either inside or

outside the polls on election day, to contribute to a political fund or to electioneer! The penalty fixed was instant dismissal.

6 The members of the council were to be elected by a system of proportional representation.

Here was certainly a different dish from that to which the average American city government sits down. Yet not only did the charter leaders put that charter over, but in the ensuing election they won seven out of the nine councilmen, and thus captured the city government. As Bentley said, they had everything a city government needed but a burlesque circuit. The council named Murray Seasongood as Mayor and Colonel C. O. Sherill of Washington, D. C. as city manager. It was this government which went quietly into office on January 1, 1926, as Jimmy Walker took over City Hall in New York and prepared to open up the flesh pots.

"Just another bunch of reformers," is what the boys said in Cincinnati. "They throw the gang out, go into office and in two or four years the gang throws them out and starts on another long journey of power."

A REFORM THAT LASTED

But the boys were badly fooled. The Charter party has won five elections in a row. In fact, it has won seven elections—five for the offices and two on the extra levy and the adoption of the charter. The reason is that this was not just another crowd of officials. In New York and Pittsburgh they merely changed Mayors. In Baltimore they merely shifted from loose business methods to better business methods. But in Cincinnati, they didn't just change mayors and aldermen. They changed the form of government. Then they demobilized the enemy's army of mercenaries and refused to build one of their own. They organized a new purely municipal political party and penetrated every election precinct with their organization.

"For forms of government let fools contest," said Alexander Pope. To this the new Mayor, Murray Seasongood, replied:

"Carl Schurz once said that if Gabriel writes your charter and Lucifer administers it you will get bad government, and if Lucifer writes your charter and Gabriel administers it you will get good government. But I say that if Gabriel administers your government it will be a better government if Gabriel also writes the charter than if Lucifer wrote it."

To which I would like to add that if Lucifer writes the charter it will be pretty hard for Gabriel to get a chance to administer it. Under this charter the Cincinnati reformers undertook to cripple the one big ring which is the center and base of all the other rings that prey on city government—the office-holders' ring—the machine. I talked to Henry Bentley, head of the Charter party, about this. He said:

"The machine in city politics is really the cheapest and most effective method of controlling the facilities of the government for dishonest politicians and predatory business men. The business men do business

with the political gang leaders. The gang leaders milk the business men. Both milk the public. And the power is preserved through the activities of the city employees who supply the votes and are paid by the city.

"What is more, this local machine is the foundation not only of the city gang but of state and national political machines. Very noble gentlemen make lofty speeches in conventions and Congress. But the backbone of the party is the local machines—for they exist in every city. And the life of the party machine lies in the local jobs—for after all the federal jobs are quite few. In Hamilton County there are 6,800 on the city and county pay roll. There are 680 voting precincts. This is ten to a precinct. If each office-holder can control only three votes along with his own, that will make 27,200 votes. And the records show that for twenty years 23,000 votes were all that were needed to control a primary in this county.

"Here in Cincinnati we have sought not just to defeat the gang at the polls but to demobilize their army of mercenaries."

This was done by applying a rigid civil service to city jobs and making it an offense punishable by dismissal for a city employee to take any part in any way in a political election.

BROTHERS AT WAR

Have you ever stopped to think why election day is a holiday? It is to close up the city offices and enable the employees to swarm around the polls. In Cincinnati, the city hall and every other city building is going full blast on election day.

Men should be chosen to do city work on merit as in every other sound business. "Why should a street sweeper be selected," as Mr. Seansgood puts it, "because he believes in the League of Nations? The test should be—Does he know dirt when he sees it and is he able to sweep it up?" That's the test in Cincinnati.

A LOOK TO YOUR CITY'S FUTURE

The success of government in a democracy depends entirely upon the degree to which the citizen can form critical judgments of the value of the services which are rendered by his government. In no other way can we be sure that democratic government is safe. Since a large percentage of people live under urban conditions it becomes imperative for every person to assume the responsibility for informing himself, in a limited way at least, concerning the complicated factors which constitute urban government and something of the character and ability of local leaders who are likely to give him the services which he desires. With a view to suggesting some of the complicated but important problems which are confronting the citi-

zen in an urban democracy we append the following paragraphs from one of the most challenging books¹ which has ever been published on American government

DO YOU KNOW YOUR CITY?

Did you ever ask yourself why you show your visiting friend the bright spots of the city, instead of showing him the whole city? Do you know what your city can teach other cities and what you ought to learn from other cities? If you were coming in as a stranger, would your first view of the city invite you to get off and explore it? Are your railway stations up-to-date? How much unnecessary space is given up to railway yards? Are there deadly grade crossings? Are there inter-urban trolley systems? Do huge cars thunder down the street and interfere with local traffic, or do they come in over their own right of way to the union station? Can you get easily from the station to any part of the city? Do the street cars go where you want them when you want them? Do you have universal transfers? Can you walk right into the cars or does it feel like climbing an ocean liner from a tug? Does it cost a nickel or less to get a seat, and do you get it? When do the franchises expire and what are you doing about it? Do you know how much it would cost to replace the transportation system?

Do your people deserve any better transportation than they are getting?

How are your streets paved? Are all the public conveniences put in before the paving is laid, or do they forget sometimes? Are the downtown streets cleaned daily and nightly and the uptown streets annually? Do you clean the back streets? What do you do with the refuse? Do you light your streets with it or heat your schoolhouses? Have you taken down all the superfluous poles? Do the business streets in daylight look like boulevards or burnt forests? Does the great white way advertise beer or civic pride? Does the city own the waterworks, gas and electric light, power and heating plants? Are you proud of the water supply? How much do you waste? Do all these departments co-operate and show expenses, profits and depreciation on their books? Are there any franchises expiring so that the city may be more scientifically and economically managed?

Do you know that you read the citizens' character better in the streets than in home or church?

How about your fire department? Is it efficient? Does it have motor apparatus and all the latest improvements? Do you have such bad building laws that you must have the best fire department in the world? Do your police "arrest" people or keep them moving? Do they round up prostitutes and interfere with free speech or do they make your streets safe at night?

¹ Zuehlke, Charles E., *American Municipal Progress*, pp. 6-11. Reprinted by permission from The Macmillan Co.

Have you ever had any epidemics? Does the board of health keep down the death rate? Has it authority to tear down all hygienic menaces? Does it co-operate with the police, fire and street-cleaning departments to keep the city clean? What do you do with your sewage—fertilize the land or invigorate your neighbor's water supply?

Do these departments handle vigorously and promptly all disease germs, fire bugs and social parasites?

Do your children stay in school as long as they should under present circumstances? Do most of them reach the high school? If not, why not? Do you have manual training, art instruction and vocational training so that they will be prepared to be something besides clerks, lawyers and day laborers? Are the schoolhouses used every available minute of the year by citizens of both sexes and all ages? If not, who is responsible for the misuse of your investment in school property?

Is your library conducted so that more people use it every month? Does it co-operate with the schools, public buildings, and industrial plants, as well as the homes? Is your art museum popular? Have you a municipal theater or do you not care what your people do with their leisure?

Is education conducted by educators in your city or by tired business men or janitors?

Are your public buildings so dignified that they inspire the citizens and attract tourists? Have you parks and playgrounds wherever needed? Are they managed for the recreation of the people or the amusement of horticulturists? Are all the schoolhouses surrounded by play spaces? Where do the boys and girls learn to swim? Can the whole population keep clean in winter as well as in summer? Have you annexed as much of the countryside for public recreation as the future of the city warrants? Is your city planned for yesterday or to-morrow?

Do you take as good care of the living as of the dead?

THE COMPOSITE CITY

It has been a common superstition that municipal government is a failure. It is not yet what we could wish. But the external accomplishments of American cities have been varied and creditable. If we assemble the best examples of their municipal successes, we produce a picture of a composite city inspiring and compelling. Each city is fragmentary and unsatisfactory, the composite city is already realized and provides a practicable vision.

The composite city is not the ultimate city, but it is a convenient working ideal.

The city is not responsible for its topography, but some municipalities have been so richly endowed by nature that they have large obligations. San Francisco, with its bay and Golden Gate and ocean, is the most beautifully situated city in America. New York and Pittsburgh, both located at the confluence of rivers, are favored beyond other cities. Pittsburgh especially, with its hills, surpasses Rome in its outlook on

the mountains Even cities of the plain, like Denver and Los Angeles, may have majestic mountain views It is unpardonable for such cities to be ugly, but it is possible for the most unfavorably situated cities to be beautiful

The secret of commercial and æsthetic success is respect for topography

If architects are needed to build houses, why not to build cities?

A PROGRAM OF REFORM

The critical citizen should have a program of reform which he should try to further It is not an undesirable condition to find many citizens "hipped" on the necessity for this or that reform If the citizen is in such a frame of mind about some needed change it means that he has doubtless given some thought to the problem. It is by thinking and by intelligent action that reform comes

It is a good thing for citizens to see the need for reform It is much better if they can see the needs from many angles, not from one or two, so that their government, when reformed, will be intelligently adjusted all along the line Only with a view to getting people to think about their government the following program of reform is proposed

1. The most general extension of the principles of the *short ballot*
- 2 Extension of plans of *proportional representation* so that minority groups can have a voice in government
- 3 The elimination of unnecessary units of government
- 4 The more extensive use of *experts*—chiefly in local government
- 5 *Reorganization* of the county government
- 6 *Reorganization* of the state and the federal governments
- 7 Extension of the *civil service* to more offices and in more jurisdictions
- 8 Extension of services to all citizens, chiefly in *recreation, social insurance, and health*.
- 9 A program of *long range planning* extending to all phases of government action
- 10 Co-ordination of our *transportation* and *communication service*.

It will be seen that these suggestions are aimed at developing a more *responsible* government through the short ballot and centrali-

zation; a more *democratic* government through giving greater representation to minority groups, a more *humane* government by extension of services in the fields of recreation, social insurance, and health, a more *efficient* government through the elimination of unnecessary units of government, through reorganization, through the greater use of experts, and by the extension of the civil service, a more *intelligent* government by the aid of long range planning, and a more *serviceable* government through co-ordinating the transportation and communication agencies of our country

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

SUMMARIZING QUESTIONS

- 1 What do Hacker and Kendrick say the reformers desired? Did they have a unified program?
- 2 What were the five influences according to Hacker and Kendrick that were working for reform? Discuss the work of the "muck-rakers" and of the political and social thinkers
- 3 Discuss reform from the angles of structure, administration, personnel, and policies.
- 4 From what types of people have reformers come?
- 5 What have government officials done to bring about reform?
- 6 How have newspaper men led in reform movements?
- 7 Discuss the reform activities of social workers. Summarize their work in reform
8. What have been the activities of reform parties in our cities?
- 9 Discuss the work of the reformers in re-making the city government in Cincinnati as told by John T. Flynn
- 10 Who were some of the reform leaders in Cincinnati?
11. Answer the questions asked by Charles E. Zueblin in the quotation "Do You Know Your City?"
- 12 What constitutes the composite city?
- 13 How can reform come? Why is it desirable that people see reform from many angles rather than from just one?
- 14 Explain each of the ten topics listed in the program for reform suggested at the end of the chapter. Is each of them an important step in progress? By using the index discover what is said elsewhere in the text about each of these topics
- 15 Why should long range planning have a part in developing a comprehensive program of reform in local, state, and national government? Should a program of reform include all three divisions of government? Explain.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1 People often think of reformers as foolish and queer. Are reformers desirable? Why? Why are political bosses usually opposed to reform? Why do ministers, college professors, settlement workers, and club women usually want reform?
- 2 What reforms would be effected by the Socialists if they were in office, in the local, the state, and the federal governments?
- 3 Look up the biographies of some of the chief reformers mentioned in the chapter and be prepared to give a discussion of their work. Examples: Lincoln Steffens, Jane Addams, Mayor Tom Johnson, Graham Taylor, Oswald Garrison Villard, Bruce Bliven, Jacob Riis, John Collier, and Senator George Norris.
- 4 Develop a program of reform for the federal government.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

1. Name some of the people who have been active in reform work in your city and state. Interview some of them, if possible, and discover what their programs are and why the reformers believe they should be followed. What forces are opposing their reforms? Why? Do you believe the reforms are desirable or not?
- 2 Are the various reforming elements in your community working on a comprehensive program or is each one "hipped" on his particular reform in which the desirable reforms would have a proper place be advisable for the community to have a long range plan for reform in which the desirable reforms would have a proper place relative to their importance to the community as a whole? Explain.
- 3 Develop a comprehensive long-range reform program for your community. (The quotation given from Zuehlke may help you in developing this.)

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APPENDICES

Appendix A · DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776,

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.— Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of

Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States, for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their office, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our Legislature

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences.

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments;

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People

Not have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States, that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved, and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor

Appendix B THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREAMBLE

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the General Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1 All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives

SECTION 2 The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative, and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers, and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment

SECTION 3 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof,¹ for six Years, and each Senator shall have one Vote

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year, and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law

SECTION 4 The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof, but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of Chusing Senators

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December,² unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day

SECTION 5 Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business, but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of

¹This has been changed by the seventeenth amendment

²This was changed by the twentieth amendment

absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy, and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting

SECTION 6 The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same, and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time, and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office

SECTION 7 All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States, If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill

SECTION 8 The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States, but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States,

To borrow money on the credit of the United States,

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes,

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States,

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures,

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States,

To establish Post Offices and post Roads,

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries,

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court,

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations,

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Repisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water,

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years,

To provide and maintain a Navy,

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces,

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions,

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in

which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings,—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof

SECTION 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed

No capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law, and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States. And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10 No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, coin Money, emit Bills of Credit, make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts, pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States, and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay

ARTICLE II

SECTION I The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each, which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed, and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President, and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote, A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice-President¹

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President, neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said

¹ This paragraph was superseded by the twelfth amendment

Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation —“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States”

SECTION 2 The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States, he may require the Opinion in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur, and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of then next Session

SECTION 3 He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper, he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers, he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States

SECTION 4 The President, Vice-President and all civil Officers of

the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1 The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

SECTION 2 The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority,—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls,—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction,—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party,—to Controversies between two or more States,—between a State and Citizens of another State,—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all Crimes except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury, and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed, but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3 Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1 Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State.

And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due

SECTION 3 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union, but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State

SECTION 4 The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion, and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress, Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article, and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate

ARTICLE VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof, and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution, but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States

ARTICLE VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names

Go WASHINGTON
Presidt and deputy from Virginia

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION

FIRST AMENDMENT¹

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances

¹ The first ten amendments were in force by 1791

APPENDICES

SECOND AMENDMENT

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed

THIRD AMENDMENT

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law

FOURTH AMENDMENT

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized

FIFTH AMENDMENT

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger, nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation

SIXTH AMENDMENT

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence

SEVENTH AMENDMENT

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

EIGHTH AMENDMENT

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted

NINTH AMENDMENT

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people

TENTH AMENDMENT

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people

ELEVENTH AMENDMENT¹

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State

TWELFTH AMENDMENT²

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves, they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate,—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted,—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next

¹ Proclaimed January 8, 1798

² Proclaimed September 25, 1804

following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President, a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT¹

SECTION 1 Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction

SECTION 2 Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation

FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT²

SECTION 1 All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws

SECTION 2 Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an

¹ Proclaimed December 18, 1865

² Proclaimed July 28, 1868

officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability

SECTION 4 The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave, but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void

SECTION 5 The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article

FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT¹

SECTION 1 The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude—

SECTION 2 The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation

SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT²

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration

SEVENTEENTH AMENDMENT³

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies PROVIDED, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election

¹ Proclaimed March 30, 1870

² Proclaimed February 25, 1913

³ Proclaimed May 31, 1913

or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT¹

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

NINETEENTH AMENDMENT²

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

TWENTIETH AMENDMENT³

SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified, and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 3. If at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified, and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

SECTION 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the

¹ Rescinded by the twenty-first amendment.

² Proclaimed August 26, 1920.

³ Proclaimed October 15, 1933.

death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them

SECTION 5 Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article

SECTION 6 This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission

TWENTY-FIRST AMENDMENT¹

SECTION 1 The Eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed

SECTION 2 The transportation or importation into any state, territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited

SECTION 3 This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress

¹ Proclaimed December 5, 1933

Appendix C ADDRESSES OF ORGANIZATIONS

IN THIS volume, especially in Part VI, reference has been made to many modern organizations and associations which have been active in urging their views on government. The students may desire to study the programs of some of these groups, many of all of which will be willing to send free literature to persons requesting it. The following list of names and addresses is given to help in communicating with any organization that may be desired.

American Association for Adult Education, Inc., 60 E. Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 E. Twenty-third Street, New York, N. Y.

American Association for Old Age Security, 22 E. Seventeenth Street, New York, N. Y.

American Association of University Women, 1634 I Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

American Bankers' Association, 22 E. Fortieth Street, New York, N. Y.

American Bar Association, 1140 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

American Child Health Association, 50 W. Fiftieth Street, New York, N. Y.

American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square West, New York, N. Y.

American Farm Bureau Federation, 58 E. Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

American Federation of Labor, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

American Forestry Association, 1713 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

American Home Economics Association, 620 Mills Building, Washington, D. C.

American Legion, 777 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind.

American Medical Association, 535 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

American Peace Society, 734 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.

American Public Health Association, 50 W. Fiftieth St., New York, N. Y.

American Social Hygiene Association, 50 W. Fiftieth St., New York, N. Y.

Anti-Saloon League of America, 131 B Street, S. E., Washington, D. C.

Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

- Child Welfare League of America, 130 E Twenty-second Street, New York, N Y
- City-Managers' Association, 923 E Sixtieth Street, Chicago, Ill
- Commission on Inter-racial Co-operation, 703 Standard Building, Atlanta, Ga
- Committee on Costs of Medical Care, 910 Seventeenth Street, N W, Washington, D C
- Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N Y
- Commonwealth Fund, 41 East Fifty-seventh Street, New York, N Y
- Community Chests and Councils, Inc, 1810 Graybar Building, Forty-third Street and Lexington Avenue, New York, N Y
- Consumers' Research, Inc, Washington, N J
- Daughters of the American Revolution, Continental Hall, Washington, D C
- Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America, St Paul, Minn
- Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 105 E Twenty-second Street, New York, N Y
- Foreign Policy Association, 8 W Fortieth Street, New York, N Y
- Iron and Steel Institute, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N Y
- Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill
- League for Independent Political Action, 112 E Nineteenth Street, New York, N Y
- League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E Nineteenth Street, New York, N Y
- League of Nations Association, Inc, 8 W Fortieth Street, New York, N Y
- Legislative Voters' League, 77 W Washington Street, Chicago, Ill
- National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, 60 E Forty-second Street, New York, N Y
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N Y
- National Association of Manufacturers, 11 W Forty-second Street, New York, N Y
- National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, 366 Madison Ave, New York, N Y
- National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association, 60c Lexington Avenue, New York, N Y
- National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc, 1819 Broadway, New York, N Y
- National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave, N W, Washington, D C
- National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Ave, New York, N Y
- National Civic Federation, 570 Lexington Ave, New York, N Y

- National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 50 W Fiftieth Street, New York, N Y
- National Committee on Education by Radio, 1201 Sixteenth St, N W, Washington, D C.
- National Conference of Social Work, 82 N High Street, Columbus, O.
- National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N W, Washington, D C
- National Consumers' League, 156 Fifth Ave, New York, N Y.
- National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, N W, Washington, D C
- National Council of Jewish Women, Inc., 625 Madison Avenue, New York, N Y
- National Council on Freedom from Censorship, 100 Fifth Ave, New York, N Y
- National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N W, Washington, D C
- National Electric Light Association, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, N Y
- National Grange, 630 Indiana Avenue, N W, Washington, D C
- National Housing Association, 105 E Twenty-second Street, New York, N Y
- National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington, D C
- National Municipal League, 309 E. Thirt-fourth Street, New York, N Y
- National Probation Association, 50 W Fiftieth Street, New York, N Y
- National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York, N Y
- National Security League, 45 W Forty-fifth Street, New York, N Y
- National Self-Government Committee, 80 Broadway, New York, N Y
- National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, 50 W Fiftieth Street, New York, N Y
- National Tuberculosis Association, 50 W Fiftieth Street, New York, N Y
- National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York, N Y
- Peoples' Lobby, 113 First St, N E, Washington, D C
- Progressive Education Association, 714 Jackson Place, N W, Washington, D C
- Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E Twenty-second Street, New York, N Y
- Sentinels of the Republic, 1367 National Press Building, Washington, D C
- Tax Policy League, 309 E Thirty-fourth Street, New York, N Y
- Veterans of Foreign Wars, Broadway at Thirty-fourth Street, Kansas City, Mo
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1924 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa
- World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt Vernon Street, Boston, Mass

Appendix D GLOSSARY

Ad valorem. One of two types of tariffs, specific and ad valorem (See Tariff)

Alienist A specialist of the diseases of the mind One is often called in by the court when the counsel for the accused claims that his client is insane, thus hoping to gain a less severe sentence than would otherwise be the case

✓ **Ambassador** A representative of the highest rank accredited to a foreign court to reside there and have charge of the diplomatic affairs of his government The United States government sends ambassadors to the governments of the larger countries and ministers to the smaller ones (See Minister and Consul)

✓ **Amendment** A change made in a proposed bill by either or both houses of a legislature, or a change in a written constitution

Anarchism. That form of society in which the individual is subjected to little or no governmental restraint

Appellate court A court of appeals to which decisions of lower courts may be carried for review

Arbitration A method of settling international disputes by peaceful means

Aristocracy. That class of society which is considered "the best" Aristocracies may be based on birth, intelligence, wealth, or military power

Assessor. The officer who evaluates property for the purpose of determining the share of taxation it must bear

Balance of trade The relationship between the amount of a country's imports and its exports If the value of the exports is greater than that of its imports a "favorable" balance of trade is said to exist

Bicameral. Two houses a legislature containing two houses, usually spoken of as the upper and lower house

Bill of Rights That section of a constitution dealing with the individual rights of citizens The first ten amendments of the federal Constitution The name is derived from a series of rights gained by Englishmen in the latter half of the 17th century

Bi-metalism A system in which two metals, usually silver and gold, are used concurrently as materials for standard money

Bloc. A group of legislators, such as the farm bloc, whose common desire for legislation protecting certain interests usually transcends party lines

Bolshevism The beliefs of the radicals or left wing of the Social Democratic party in Russia which came into power in the Revolution of 1917, and is now the Communist party (See Communism)

Boss In politics, the party leader who succeeds in personally controlling his party

- Boycott** The refusal by an organized group of people to trade with or have other dealings with a business organization until it accedes to their demands
- Budget** An orderly plan for the expenditure of funds in a given period based on expected receipts
- Cabinet.** A group of executives and advisers appointed by the head of the government
- Calendar (legislative)** A time schedule agreed upon by a legislative body upon which the various matters of business are placed
- Capitalism** An economic system based on private property in which the dominant role is played by the owners of capital
- Caucus** A meeting of the members of a party to determine party policy
- Census** An official enumeration of the population of a country, city, or district, generally with classified social and economic statistics
- Charter.** A document given by a superior political power conferring certain political rights and privileges upon a subordinate political division
Example a city charter conferred by a state legislature
- Citizen.** A member of a nation or state enjoying the rights and privileges of said membership In the United States a citizen is one who was either born in the country or who has been fully naturalized
- Civil service.** An agency of the federal government and of certain state and city governments by which trained men and women are secured for government service (Contrast with Spoils system)
- Cloture rule.** A rule limiting the time that may be spent in debate by a legislative body
- Common law** The unwritten law of England that has grown up and is binding through usage and custom as distinguished from statute law
It is used in all English speaking countries
- Communism** A system of social organization in which all property is held in common (Contrast with Socialism and Capitalism)
- Concurrent powers** Powers that are held in common Example The power to tax is one held by both the federal and the state governments.
(See Delegated powers and Reserved powers)
- Conservative** One who believes that the social, economic, and political organization should remain substantially as it is He is opposed to liberal or radical changes (See Liberal and Radical)
- Constitution** The fundamental law of the land
- Consuls.** Diplomatic and business agents of a country stationed in the leading foreign cities throughout the world
- Consumer** One who acquires goods for his own use
- Co-operative.** An organization of people for the purpose of group buying, producing, or selling
- Copyright** A legal right conferred by a government protecting any printed article that has been registered according to the copyright laws
- Dark horse** A candidate who unexpectedly secures a nomination or an election over more favored candidates

- Delegated powers** Powers conferred on (or delegated) to the federal government by the Constitution, as distinguished from reserved, or concurrent powers (See Reserved powers and Concurrent powers)
- Democracy.** That form of society in which there is a maximum of political, social, and economic opportunity for all. Politically, that form of government in which the political control rests in the people
- Economic planning** A system of national or regional planning for the purpose of eliminating waste through co-ordinating industry and smoothing out the business cycle
- Electorate** The citizens of a country who possess the right to vote
- Estates tax** A tax on the entire net estate of a person who dies. It differs from an inheritance tax in that the latter is a tax upon the share of an estate received by each heir. The federal tax is an estates tax whereas states usually have inheritance taxes
- Excise.** A tax on certain commodities produced within the country, such as tobacco and playing cards
- Executor.** An individual appointed by a person to execute his will
- Ex-officio** By virtue of an office. A person serves on a board as an ex-officio member because of an official position he holds
- Ex post facto law** A law that is retroactive in that it affects things done before it was passed
- Expressed powers** Those powers definitely stated in the Constitution as contrasted to the implied powers (See Implied powers)
- Extra-legal powers.** Powers beyond the province of law, not provided for by law
- Fascism** Dictatorship based upon violence and force, as developed by Mussolini in Italy (Contrast with Democracy)
- Federal Reserve System** A system of twelve bankers' banks created by Congress in 1913.
- Federation** A union of equal states
- Filibuster** The delaying of legislative action by unnecessary debate or by taking undue advantage of parliamentary rules
- Fiscal year** The financial year of a government
- Franchise** A document issued by a government to a public utility company giving it special rights in the use of streets and other public property in return for which the company agrees to maintain a certain standard of service. Also, the right to vote
- Free trade.** The exchange of goods between countries without the payment of tariffs.
- Gerrymandering.** The act of arranging districts to the advantage of the political party in power
- Graft** The illegal appropriation of public funds by politicians, or by business men doing business with the government
- Grants-in-aid** Financial assistance given by a government for specified purposes to aid a financially weaker subdivision
- Habeas corpus** A court order directing a prosecuting attorney to show why a prisoner should not be released from custody

- Holding company.** A company organized for the purpose of buying securities of operating companies, usually for the ultimate purpose of controlling and co-ordinating the activities of the subsidiary companies
- Impeachment** The indictment by a legislative body charging a public official with malfeasance in office. The official so charged is then tried. He may or may not be convicted.
- Implied powers.** Those powers which are derived from the "elastic" clause of the Constitution, Article I, Section 8, which is also sometimes called the "necessary and proper" clause. (See Specified powers)
- Import duties.** See Tariff
- Incidence of tax.** The point where the burden of a tax finally rests
- Index number** A statistical device by which trends, tendencies, and differences may be measured and compared
- Indictment** An accusation, usually made by a grand jury, charging a person with committing a crime
- Industrial revolution.** The change in industry from hand manufacture to machine production. It was accompanied by the introduction of large scale production and the consequent concentration of ownership and the employment of large numbers of wage earners. It stimulated the rise of modern capitalism
- Inflation.** Any policy which secures an increase in the general price level
- Inheritance tax** See Estates tax
- Initiative** A means whereby the people may petition to have a proposed law placed on the ballot for approval or rejection at a general election
- Injunction.** A court order commanding that a person or group of persons refrain from doing a particular thing
- Inquest** An investigation by a judicial body
- Interstate.** Between states
- Intra-state.** Within a state
- Laissez faire.** Let things alone. The policy of government non-interference in economic and social affairs
- Legislative reference bureau** A bureau consisting of legislative experts to which members of a law-making body may go for information and assistance in framing legislation and studying proposed laws
- Letters of marque and reprisal.** Letters formerly issued to privately-owned vessels to authorize them to prey on commercial ships of an enemy nation. This practice was abolished by international agreement in 1856
- Liberal** A person who holds that the methods of government may be much improved and seeks to do so through peaceful, constitutional means (See Conservative and Radical)
- Lobby** A private extra-legal agency which seeks to influence legislative action for its own benefit, or for the benefit of the group it represents
- Logrolling** The practice of exchanging votes in a legislative body. "You vote for my measures and I'll vote for yours"
- Lynching.** The act of a mob inflicting death or punishment without the process of law.

Machine. A political organization dominated by a boss and operating to control a political party

Managed currency A currency issued and controlled in amount by the government If prices tend to fall extra money may be issued, or money may be withdrawn when prices rise too much

Mandamus A writ issued by a court commanding an executive officer or an inferior court to perform an act required under the law

Mandate An order given by the League of Nations to a nation to assume control of and responsibility for orderly government in a backward territory Also the territory so assigned

Minister. A representative next in rank to an ambassador accredited to a foreign court to reside there and have charge of the diplomatic business of his government (See Ambassador and Consul)

Monarchy. The government by a king or monarch

Nation. A group of people with a common culture Popularly now used synonymously with state, because nationality is the chief basis for the formation of a state

Naturalization. The means whereby an alien may become a citizen.

Net income The income that a person, corporation, or other business house has after all expenses have been paid

New Deal. A popular expression used to name the Roosevelt Recovery Program It was characterized by a host of administrative organizations, usually designated by their initials. A few of the more important ones are given as a means of identifying them

A. A. A.	Agriculture Adjustment Administration
C. C. C.	Civilian Conservation Corps
C. W. A.	Civil Works Administration
E. H. C.	Emergency Housing Corporation
F. C. A.	Farm Credit Administration
F. C. C.	Federal Communications Commission
F. C. T.	Federal Coordinator of Transportation
F. D. I. C.	Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
F. E. R. A.	Federal Emergency Relief Administration
F. H. A.	Federal Housing Administration
F. S. H. C.	Federal Subsistence Homestead Corporation
H. O. L. C.	Home Owners Loan Corporation
N. R. A.	National Recovery Administration
P. W. A.	Public Works Administration
R. F. C.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation
S. E. C.	Securities and Exchange Commission
T. V. A.	Tennessee Valley Authority
W. P. A.	Works Progress Administration

Non-partisan Not officially connected with any political party

Oligarchy That form of government in which control is in the hands of a few

- Ordinances.** Laws passed by a local legislative body, such as the city or town council
- Original jurisdiction.** Courts of original jurisdiction are those in which cases may originate as contrasted to courts in which cases may be appealed. (See Appellate court.)
- Patent.** A patent is a legal right, conferred on an inventor or his agent, to control the manufacture and sale of an article for a period of seventeen years
- Paternalism.** A practice of a government in dispensing an excessive amount of aid to its citizens
- Patronage.** The act of dispensing government favors to preferred party members
- Plutocracy** Government by the wealthy
- Pocket veto.** See Veto
- Pork barrel** Appropriation bills for local purposes, many of which are probably unnecessary
- Preferential voting.** The practice of permitting the voter to express first, second, and third choices among candidates for office
- Progressive** Nearly synonymous with liberal A person who desires legislation for the purpose of improving political, economic, and social life (See Liberal, Conservative, and Radical)
- Proletariat** The workers who own no capital but are entirely dependent upon wages, the poorest class in a community
- Propaganda** A strongly partisan attempt to influence public opinion by presenting only one side of a proposition, although the impression is conveyed that an impartial view is being given of the matter Also, the material used to influence opinion
- Property tax** A tax on a person's personal property or real estate, used largely for the support of local government
- Psychiatrist** A specialist in mental disorders
- Public utilities.** Business enterprises in which the public has a special interest because the enterprises have a monopoly on an economic good upon which everyone is vitally dependent, such as railroad, gas, water, electricity, or telephone services
- Radical** A person who wishes to make sudden and complete changes in the political, social, and economic structure (See Conservative and Liberal)
- Recall** The process by which the people may decide by an election whether an elected official shall remain in office or be removed
- Referendum** The means by which a measure passed by a legislative body may be referred to the people for approval
- Republic** A state that has a representative form of government
- Reserved powers.** Those powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved to the state They are thus spoken of as reserved powers
- Sales tax** A general tax on the sale of commodities
- Senatorial courtesy** A practice whereby Senators agree to confirm appointments recommended by each other

- Seniority rule** The custom in legislative bodies by which the chairmanship of a committee is given to the senior member of the majority party on that committee
- Short ballot.** A term used to indicate that relatively few governmental positions are elective.
- Socialism** The belief in government ownership and management of the essential means of production, such as public utilities, the major factories and industrial plants, and mines
- Soviet** A political council used as the basis for government representation in the U S S R
- Specific tax** See **Tariff**
- Spoils system.** The practice of rewarding faithful party workers by giving them government jobs
- State** A group of people politically organized with definite boundaries and sovereign power to rule
- Subsidy.** A money grant by a government to a private enterprise engaged in an activity deemed to be advantageous to the public
- Suffrage.** The right and privilege of voting and sharing in the responsibilities of government
- Tariff** A tax on imports. Tariffs are levied either as a means of securing revenue or for the purpose of protecting certain domestic industries. The first is known as a *tariff for revenue only*, the second is called a *protective tariff*. Tariffs may be either *specific* or *ad valorem*. Specific tariffs are ones in which the tax is so much a unit (as 5¢ a dozen). *Ad valorem* tariffs are ones in which the tax is levied according to value (as 20 per cent of a \$100 gem)
- Tax.** A compulsory contribution levied by the government from individuals or organizations.
- Testator** A man who leaves a valid will at death.
- "Third degree"** A process of severe questioning used by police officers for the purpose of securing a confession from an alleged law-breaker
- Treaty** A formal agreement between nations
- Unicameral** A one-house legislature, as in Nebraska
- Veto** The refusal of an executive to sign a law passed by a legislative body. If he fails to sign the measure until too late for the legislature to reconsider it at the end of the term, he is said to have used the *pocket veto*
- Whip.** A legislator whose duty it is to keep the members of his party in line.
- Wire pulling** The use of political and other types of influence on government officials

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